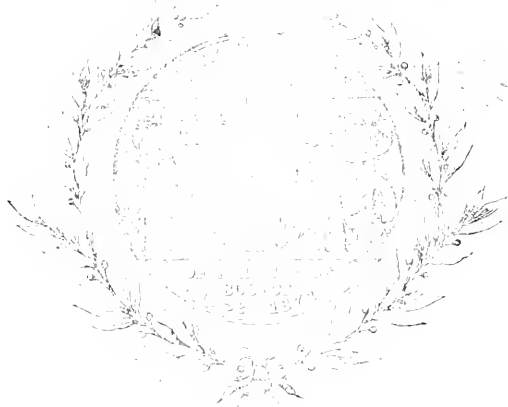


Mr. Q. S. K. Jones



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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 2



HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

AUGUST 28 AND 31, SEPTEMBER 1 AND 15, 1950

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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 2

MONDAY, AUGUST 28, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:50 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney, Morgan M. Moulder, Richard M. Nixon, Francis Case, and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, and Courtney Owens, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like at this time to call four witnesses who were subpoenaed for this morning, and ask that they be sworn in and then discharged until tomorrow morning. Their names are, Alex Leith—

Mr. WOOD. Please answer to your names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Alex Leith.

Mr. LEITH. Here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Henry Fiering.

Mr. FIERING. Here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Winchard Dee.

Mr. DEE. Here.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Ben Riskin.

Mr. RISKIN. Here.

Mr. WOOD. Come forward, please, gentlemen. Will you hold up your right hands, please. You and each of you solemnly swear that the evidence you give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEITH. I do.

Mr. FIERING. I do.

Mr. DEE. I do.

Mr. RISKIN. I do.

Mr. WOOD. You are excused until 10 o'clock in the morning, gentlemen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call at this time Mr. Lee Pressman.

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order, please.

Mr. Pressman, will you hold up your right hand, please. You swear that the evidence you will give this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat, please.

TESTIMONY OF LEE PRESSMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My name is Lee Pressman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Pressman, the record of proceedings of this committee shows that you appeared before it on August 20, 1948, and at that time you refused, on constitutional grounds, to answer certain questions relating to your alleged affiliation with the Communist Party.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has learned through the public press that when you recently resigned from the American Labor Party you issued a statement to the effect that you were doing so because of the Communist control of that organization. The committee has consistently endeavored to give an opportunity to witnesses who have appeared before it to repudiate their Communist affiliations or associations. A full disclosure of your knowledge of Communist Party activities would perform a great public service, especially at this time, when acts of military aggression are being committed by the forces of international communism. It would also be evidence that the break with your alleged Communist association has been full and complete, and that your action was taken in good faith.

The committee will not be satisfied with a mere perfunctory repudiation of the Communist Party, nor, it is suggested, will the American public. The committee desires to know if you are willing to cooperate with it in its effort to expose Communist activities by answering such questions as will be propounded to you with regard to Communist activities during the course of this hearing?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask at this time for the opportunity of making a brief statement to the committee.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Pressman, you will be accorded the privilege of making whatever statement you desire, but you have just been asked a direct question, and we would like to have a direct answer to that question.

Mr. PRESSMAN. May I suggest the question was rather lengthy.

Mr. WOOD. The latter part was direct.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe my statement, which will be very brief, will answer the question, as well as indicate precisely what my position will be before the committee today.

Mr. WOOD. Then will you be prepared to answer questions asked you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I understand, Mr. Chairman, there is a desire that I further clarify the position which I took in my recent letter resigning from the American Labor Party. This I desire to do, as well as take this opportunity to expose many distortions which have been circulated regarding my past activities. There has been considerable speculation regarding my past activities. I propose at this moment to set forth a few very simple facts.

In the early 1930's, Mr. Chairman, as you may well recall, as well as other members of this committee, there was a very severe depression in our country. The future looked black for my generation just emerging from school. At the same time, the growing specter of nazism in Germany presented to my mind an equally grave threat.

In my desire to see the destruction of Hitlerism and an improvement in economic conditions here at home, I joined a Communist group in Washington, D. C., about 1934. My participation in such group extended for about a year, to the best of my recollection. I recall that about the latter part of 1935—the precise date I cannot recall, but it is a matter of public record—I left the Government service and left Washington to reenter the private practice of law in New York City. And at that time I discontinued any further participation in the group from that date until the present.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I state the following at this time:

There were three other persons in that group in addition to myself. They were all at the time with me in the Department of Agriculture. They have all been named before this committee by others.

I state to you that I am prepared, as I will indicate, to answer any and all questions regarding my activities in the past up to the present, and possibly project my viewpoint into the future. It would be offensive to me, as it would be to practically all people, to have to name individuals with whom I have associated in the past.

What I have stated to you would indicate that I offer no additional information that this committee does not already have. However, that is a decision which this committee will have to make in propounding its questions to me and the directives you issue to me.

Bear in mind, sir, there may be others like myself who, out of deep convictions, will change their beliefs. If this committee assumes the position that those who do change their convictions and beliefs, as I have, must also be compelled to take what I submit would be an offensive—offensive to one's own personal self—position, that might well be discouraging to other people to do what I have done. But, I repeat, that is a decision which this committee will have to make.

Now, I believe it of interest to comment that I have no knowledge regarding the political beliefs or affiliations of Alger Hiss. And when I say I have no knowledge, I am not endeavoring to quibble with this committee. I appear here, as I necessarily must, as a lawyer. I am a lawyer. When one asks me for knowledge, knowledge to my mind is based on fact, and I have no facts. And bear in mind, sir, that as an attorney, to be asked to comment on a case now pending in court is a very unusual experience for an attorney, because anything I say undoubtedly may have an impact one way or another on that case, and for that reason I am trying to be very, very precise. I do know, I can state as a matter of knowledge, that for the period of my participation in that group, which is the only basis on which I can say I have knowledge, Alger Hiss was not a member of the group.

Now, those two statements of mine are based on knowledge, which embraces facts within my possession. I do not believe that this committee would want me to hazard conjectural surmise. That is not my function. You want from me, I assume, facts and nothing but facts.

Now, there has been a great deal of wild speculation, a great deal of unfortunate distortion, regarding my name as it arose in the course of previous testimony before this committee by a man named Chambers.

I desire to call attention to the fact that on a previous appearance by me before this committee, at which I believe Congressman Nixon was the chairman of the subcommittee, we were then in executive session but it was a matter of record, there was a colloquy between Mr. Stripling, the counsel of the committee, and myself. At page 1023 of the record of proceedings of August 18, 1948, there appears this colloquy, and I take this opportunity to repeat this, because up to date, even though I have brought this colloquy to the attention of many representatives of the press, no one has seen fit to date to print it until this morning. The colloquy is as follows. Mr. Pressman asked this question I now quote: "Has there been any charge"—

Mr. WOOD. You say "Mr. Pressman" asked that question?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is myself. I asked the question:

Has there been any charge made by any witness that has appeared before this committee that I have participated in any espionage activity while an employee of the Federal Government or thereafter?

End of question.

Mr. Stripling answered as follows, I now quote: "No, there has not been." End of quote.

And I point out that that colloquy occurred after Mr. Chambers had testified and had mentioned my name in the course of his testimony.

To continue on my background, I will be very brief, Mr. Chairman.

In 1936 I was appointed general counsel of the CIO. Actually, I might say, being more specific, I was named in June 1936 as general counsel for the Steelworkers Organizing Committee. The CIO did not actually begin to function until 1937. At that time I was in the private practice of law in New York City, and continued such until about 1938, to the best of my recollection, when I returned to Washington, D. C., acting as full-time attorney for the CIO and the Steelworkers Organizing Committee, which by that time might well have become the United Steelworkers of America. In 1948 I resigned, for reasons which I then publicly stated.

What I will say might be an aside and quite irrelevant, but I believe quite important, because, contrary to the facts which will be developed in the course of this proceeding, I hope, there has been the wildest kind of distortion regarding my activities and my views in the past.

For example, completely contrary to fact, statements now appear in the press that I was forced to resign from the CIO because of my views. Actually, that action taken then was of my own accord. Contrary to what many newspaper reporters may say, I can prove my assertion, because at that time I was given a letter by the president of the CIO expressing his appreciation for the contribution which I had made to the CIO while I had been employed in the capacity of general counsel of that organization. And even more important, after my resignation I was requested by the CIO and Mr. Murray to appear in their behalf as their counsel in connection with their indictments under the infamous Taft-Hartley Act.

I say those two facts certainly attest to the correctness of my assertion that when I resigned it was a matter of my own accord, for the reasons which I stated then publicly. All I can say is that my contribution to organized labor from the year 1938 until 1948 when I

acted for the CIO is a matter of public record on which I do not at this moment intend to comment.

Now, I think it would be in order, Mr. Chairman, for me again to make one or two brief observations regarding present conditions which have had a bearing on the position which I have taken.

A grave crisis confronts our Nation and all humanity today. The warfare raging in Korea threatens to unleash a world conflict which would destroy our civilization. All my life I have opposed aggression. I therefore denounce the fighting initiated by the North Korean forces in South Korea. The Communist Party and its forces in the labor movement, as they have expressed themselves publicly, are the supporters and apologists for an aggressive war. I vigorously oppose this position. I desire to support the United Nations and my country. It is my fervent hope that the United Nations can devise immediate steps which can bring about a quick end to the present bloodshed and assure world peace.

The onrushing frightful conflict between ideological forces today threatens our destruction. We find the resurgence of nazism assisted by the release of die-hard Nazis who were convicted of the most horrible crimes. We are confronted by the driving aggressive Communist attack. Our survival must be based upon the people's understanding of the true meaning and worth of American democracy and their determination to fight for its preservation and full enjoyment.

Each individual, Mr. Chairman, must constantly peer into his own conscience to evaluate his convictions upon which to base his faith and creed. The position that I have taken today was not taken hurriedly. It was taken after careful and due consideration and deliberation. The position I have assumed today, Mr. Chairman, stems from very profound convictions. There may be questions in people's minds regarding the position I have taken. I can only say that I state as a matter of fact that the position I have assumed stems from a profound sincerity on my part.

I deeply appreciate that within our democratic way of life, when past beliefs prove false, when a human being finds that he has made mistakes, there is the opportunity for change and to contribute in whatever way possible toward the dignity and well-being of man and the preservation of peace for all humanity.

Those are my observations, which express my knowledge of my activities of the past and my present viewpoint. If you have questions of me, Mr. Chairman, I shall endeavor the best I can to answer the questions.

Mr. WOOD. Before members of the committee are given an opportunity to ask questions, Mr. Counsel do you have questions to ask?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. Pressman, what is your present address?

Mr. PRESSMAN. 225 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is your residential address?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My office address.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your residential address?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Is there need for that, Mr. Chairman, to be in the record?

Mr. TAVENNER. You have furnished the committee with a statement of your employment since 1936 when you were appointed as general counsel for the CIO, but will you go back and give us a state-

ment of your record of employment prior to that time, both in and out of the Government?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I graduated from Harvard Law School in June 1929. I believe it was September 1929 when I was employed at a law firm in New York City. My recollection is that I was with the law firm from 1929 until sometime the latter part of 1932 or early part of 1933, when I became a partner in another law firm.

Sometime in the spring of 1933 I was called down to Washington by Mr. Jerome Frank, who was then general counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and asked whether I would accept employment with the Administration as an assistant general counsel.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to take the opportunity as I will through the course of these proceedings, to lay low, I hope once and for all, many distortions of truth. It has been asserted time and again by some people that I was responsible, for example, for getting Alger Hiss a job in triple A. I state as a fact, and the public records will bear me out, that when I came to Washington to become employed in the triple A, at that time Alger Hiss was already working with Jerome Frank as his assistant in the triple A. I had nothing whatsoever—and when I say nothing whatsoever I mean precisely that—nothing whatsoever to do with the employment of Alger Hiss in the triple A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you there.

Mr. PRESSMAN. May I continue?

Mr. TAVENNER. No. I would like to interrupt you at this point. Who endorsed you for the position in the AAA?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I just stated that Mr. Jerome Frank asked me to come to Washington to join up with the triple A because I had been working with him, was his assistant, in the law firm from which I came.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did anyone else, to your knowledge, endorse you for that position?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Not to my knowledge. Is there a suggestion, sir, that there was?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking if you know.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Not to my knowledge. Jerome Frank was the only person I knew in the city of Washington at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. PRESSMAN. In the early part of 1935, Mr. Chairman—and you must remember looking back 15 or 16 years it is a little difficult to reconstruct these precise dates—I became general counsel of what I believe was then known as Federal Employment Relief Administration, or FERA.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that date again, please?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The early part of 1935. That agency was transformed soon thereafter into the Works Progress Administration, of which Mr. Harry Hopkins was Administrator, and I was general counsel for FERA and for Works Progress Administration when it became such.

About the same time, and under the same legislation, an agency called the—it wasn't the Resettlement Administration; I forget the name of it now; it was in effect the Resettlement Administration, of which Mr. Tugwell was administrator, was created, and I acted as his general counsel at the same time I was general counsel for WPA, and to the best of my recollection it was the latter part of 1935, in the

winter of 1935, that I resigned from both of those positions, left Washington and the Government service, and returned to New York to reenter the private practice of law. I became a partner in a law firm in New York City.

In June 1936 I was asked by Mr. John Lewis, then chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, if I would become general counsel for the Steelworkers Organizing Committee, set up, I believe, June 15, 1936. I said yes, and from that time until June 1938 I was in the private practice of law in New York and acting part time as counsel for the Steelworkers Organizing Committee as one of my clients.

In 1938, I moved to Washington and acted as full-time general counsel for the CIO and the Steelworkers Organizing Committee.

In 1948, I resigned from the CIO and went back into private practice of the law in New York City, where I am now engaged in the practice of the law.

Mr. TAVENNER. If I understood you correctly, you came to Washington in the spring of 1933?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Sometime around May or June. I forget the exact month.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you reside in Washington?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe it was 3000 Connecticut Avenue, my first residence here.

Mr. NIXON. Right opposite the zoo?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is right, a large apartment house there.

Mr. NIXON. Weren't you on the second or third floor there?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct. Were you my neighbor, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. NIXON. I just know Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you left your employment as general counsel for the AAA, will you state the reason for your change?

Mr. PRESSMAN. When I left what, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. You were general counsel or assistant general counsel of the AAA. When you left that employment and went to be general counsel of FERA and then Works Progress Administration, what was your reason for making that change, and what were the circumstances surrounding it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Counsel, you know very well I had no reason. That change was forced upon me. At that time, as is well known, Mr. Wallace, who was Secretary of Agriculture, asked for the resignation of Jerome Frank, who was general counsel of Triple A, along with several assistants of Mr. Jerome Frank. I was among them. My resignation was submitted. Immediately thereafter Mr. Harry Hopkins asked if I would accept employment as general counsel of FERA and I assented.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances surrounding your leaving the Government service in the winter of 1935?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I had decided that I had, to my way of thinking, sufficient experience in Washington and in the Federal service, and I wanted to return to the private practice of law.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your resignation in any way suggested by a superior?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or was it a purely voluntary act on your part?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Completely so.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. To the best of my recollection, sometime the early part of 1934.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you united with the Communist Party? That is, who recruited you into the party and all other circumstances connected with it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The circumstances are very simple. I was asked to join by a man named Harold Ware. For the reasons which I have already indicated, I assented, and I joined with the group which had, in addition to myself, three other persons, all of whom at that time were in the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. WOOD. Are any of them in the Department of Agriculture now?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No, Mr. Chairman, and the three who were then in the Department of Agriculture have been named before this committee time and time again.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time that you were recruited into the party by Ware, were you assigned to any branch or section or cell of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was assigned merely to this specific group.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of this group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. We had no name. We were just a group of individuals.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say there were only four members of that group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. During the period of my participation there were only four members of the group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were they?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, in the face of the statement I have made, is that a directive from the committee, the question that has just been propounded to me? Bear in mind what I said, Mr. Chairman, if I may repeat myself, there may be other people such as myself who have changed their beliefs and their convictions. The burden is on the committee to make the decision.

Mr. WOOD. The committee is considering that statement that you made. The fact they have already been named before the committee does not necessarily mean the specific information called for by the question is in the possession of the committee.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Pressman, in that connection, I appreciate your interest in being accurate and clearing up any distortions that may have grown up previously, and I wouldn't think you would want to leave the impression in the record that these three people might be any three of the people named as Communists before this committee. Do you mean all people named as Communists before this committee have been correctly named as such?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. I am saying that the three individuals who have been named as members of this group—not just as Communists but named as members of this group—and who were then with me in the Department of Agriculture, that I, in my naming these individuals, would not be adding one iota to the information in the possession of the committee.

Mr. NIXON. I think that is exactly the point I developed. As a matter of fact, six people were named at one time or another as being members of this group, though not all at the same time.

Mr. PRESSMAN. But not in the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. NIXON. Your point is that the three people you refer to were in the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have stated that repeatedly.

Mr. NIXON. And that they were the only three persons in the Department of Agriculture who have been named as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Who have been named as members of that group.

Mr. NIXON. Then they have been named, haven't they?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is up to you to decide. Mr. Chairman, I am not trying to quibble. I think we have a very important question involved here, and it is up to the committee to decide.

Mr. NIXON. What is the question in your mind about the desirability of naming these people? As I understand it, what you desire to do is to be of assistance to this committee and to the Government in taking effective action to stop the Communist movement within the United States, since you yourself have indicated that you have left the party and that you oppose what the party is doing, what it is standing for. It seems to me, certainly at this point, that you could be of great assistance to the committee by corroborating charges which have been made previously concerning individuals who have been named. If some have been named falsely, or some have been named correctly, I think your testimony could bear on that point very effectively and it would be of assistance to the committee.

Mr. WALTER. As I understand Mr. Pressman, he is fearful that in mentioning those names, other people who feel as he does would be discouraged from appearing before the committee.

Mr. NIXON. Because they would be fearful they would be asked the same question?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. I can understand the personal moral issue that Mr. Pressman and Mr. Walter seem to be standing for. In other words, they are concerned—and I can understand their concern—that any individual who comes before a committee of Congress is hesitant to expose his friends or his former friends, and that therefore, if an individual like Mr. Pressman is forced to expose his friends or former friends, other individuals who were members of the Communist Party will not come to expose their friends. I state, and I think the experience we have had over the years bears out the fact, that the only way we can effectively get at the underground activities of the Communist Party is through individuals who have broken with the party and who can give us information. I think it is extremely important at this time, if you, who have formerly been a member of the Communist Party and are not now a member of the party, know there were other members at the time you were, that you disclose that information so that we can have it for our use.

Mr. HARRISON. As a practical matter they have been named, have they not?

Mr. WOOD. Let me just ask a couple of questions. Do you have knowledge of any other individuals being members of the Communist Party other than the three you have said were in the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The answer is absolutely not.

Mr. WOOD. At any time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct, sir, except, of course——

Mr. WOOD. In testimony presented before the committee, in the group to which you belonged there have only been three in the Department of Agriculture, as I recall, who have been so identified, and it is your testimony that there were three persons in the Department of Agriculture who have been identified before this committee who were members of your group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It seems to me that is an answer to the question. I personally am inclined to think it is a rather strained point the witness is making in not mentioning the names, since we have them.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Suppose you ask me other questions, Mr. Congressman, and see if we can straighten out your problem.

Mr. NIXON. As I understand your answer to Mr. Wood's question—and listen carefully to this question, because it is important—the only people that you know who were members of the Communist Party were the three individuals——

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Who were in AAA?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have said that I have no knowledge regarding any individual other than the three members in my group.

Mr. NIXON. The three members in AAA?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. And you know of no other members of the Communist Party? You know of no other individuals who dealt with that group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have mentioned Harold Ware.

Mr. NIXON. There were no others than Harold Ware?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Who were Government employees?

Mr. NIXON. Government employees or dealing with Government employees.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am talking about Government employees.

Mr. NIXON. Then these three people were not the only individuals who were members of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Mr. PRESSMAN. It is hard to answer——

Mr. NIXON. That is a simple question. Were these three people the only individuals known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. They were the three individuals who were members of the group. I do not have any knowledge of the affiliation or non-affiliation with the Communist Party of any other Government employee.

Mr. NIXON. You have limited it to Government employees.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am waiting for any questions you may ask me with respect to any person who is not a Government employee, whether I do or do not have knowledge of his political affiliations.

Mr. CASE. How many people were members of this group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Four.

Mr. CASE. You have indicated there were four who were members of the group within the Department of Agriculture. You have not said there may not have been members of the group who were not employees of the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. PRESSMAN. There were only four members in the group, including myself. All four of us were in the Department of Agriculture at the time.

Mr. CASE. You said Harold Ware recruited you into the Communist Party. Was he an employee of the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. CASE. Was he a member of the group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. We did not consider him a member of the group.

Mr. CASE. But you know he was a Communist?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I assume so. He recruited me into the party.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. Yes. I think it is important to develop this point for this reason: I think that we are certainly quibbling over whether or not Mr. Pressman should be required to give the names of the members of this group. I don't think the committee should set a precedent that when an individual comes in as Mr. Pressman does—and we appreciate his coming in—he can come in and answer only those questions he determines he should answer. I think he should be required to answer the question before him about others in or out of the Government who were members. I think it is extremely important that he answer the question, and that the precedent that would be set if he is not required to answer would be a very bad one to be set.

Just so there will be absolute clarity of the record, as I understand, the records of this committee show that the three members of the group who were in the Department of Agriculture were John Abt, Nathan Witt, and Henry Collins?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Henry Collins, to my knowledge, was never an employee of the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. NIXON. Then for that reason you should answer the question.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Your records are wrong.

Mr. NIXON. You yourself said you wanted to clear up distortions about yourself, and I assume other individuals, in the files of this committee. Apparently the files of the committee are wrong in respect to Mr. Collins. Obviously Mr. Abt and Mr. Witt are two of the members of the group. I think you should name the other one. Nathan Witt and John Abt are two. That I am sure of myself. I think Mr. Pressman should clear up who is the third one.

Mr. WOOD. You say the record of this committee, if it includes Collins, is wrong?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think your own record will show that Mr. Collins was an employee of the National Recovery Administration and not of the triple A.

Mr. WOOD. I will ask you to name the other employee of the Department of Agriculture who was a member of the group.

Mr. PRESSMAN. The third person among the individuals who have been named as members of this group who was an employee of the Department of Agriculture when I was in 1934 was Charles Kramer.

Mr. WOOD. Charles who?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Kramer, K-r-a-m-e-r. He was employed by the Department of Agriculture at the time I was.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions on that point?

Mr. CASE. You say Henry Collins at that time was an employee of another branch of the Government?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Are you stating a fact or asking me a question?

Mr. CASE. I am asking you that question.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I take that from your own record.

Mr. WOOD. Did you know him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I knew him socially.

Mr. WOOD. Did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did not. He was not a member of my group.

Mr. CASE. Were there other Government employees who were members of your group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No, sir. I have stated there were only four.

Mr. CASE. You have made a distinction between those who were employees of the Department of Agriculture and other Government employees.

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. I have said there were four, only four, no more, no less.

Mr. NIXON. Do I understand you to say that the only individuals who were employees of the Government who were members of the Communist Party to your knowledge were these four?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Repeat your question, sir?

Mr. NIXON. Were the only individuals who were employees of the Government and who were members of the Communist Party to your knowledge at any time these four and these four only?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is absolutely correct. Mr. Nixon, I am glad you asked that question, because there has been, again, this wild speculation in the press with all kinds of inside stories of what Mr. Pressman is going to disclose. If you are asking me your questions in anticipation that I am going to give you what I know as fact and not as fiction, my knowledge is confined to precisely what I have testified to, and all the wild speculation of what I have done is completely distortion and speculation. The fact is exactly as I have told it.

Mr. McSWEENEY. May I ask a question?

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McSweeney.

Mr. McSWEENEY. How would a man solicit your membership in the Communist Party? This man Ware was a member?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I assume he was a member of the Communist Party, since he asked me to join.

Mr. WALTER. Did he recruit all these other people in Agriculture?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not know.

Mr. WALTER. He was an adviser in the Department of Agriculture from 1925 to 1932, was he not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not know. I came there in 1932 or 1933.

Mr. McSWEENEY. How did he ask you to become a member?

Mr. PRESSMAN. He stated the benefits and advantages of the Communist Party and asked me to join, and for the reasons I have stated I said "Yes".

Mr. WOOD. One way we can have knowledge of Communist Party membership is from the admission to others. Were you ever told by any other fellow employee that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was not. I have not been told by any other person. I have not inquired. I cannot state of my own knowledge that any other persons were members other than the members of my group, namely, three persons other than myself.

Mr. MOULDER. What was the function of or reason for having your group of four?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think it is advisable to explain that situation, because, again, there has been what I consider to be considerable misunderstanding. Bear with me, I am talking now solely of the period during which I was a member of that group. During that period what we did was receive literature of a Communist nature, daily newspaper, monthly magazines, books, and things of that nature, Communist literature; we would read the literature and discuss problems covered by the literature.

Mr. MOULDER. As a group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. As a group.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you have regular meetings?

Mr. PRESSMAN. We would meet once a month or twice a month, as the occasion developed, where we would be reading the literature and discussing these problems.

Mr. MOULDER. Would the four of the group be the only ones present?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Those four were usually the only ones present.

Mr. WOOD. You say usually. Were there others present at any time, and if so, who?

Mr. PRESSMAN. This literature which I have described would be brought down to Washington and delivered to one of the group.

Mr. WOOD. By whom?

Mr. PRESSMAN. It was not delivered to me during that period. It was delivered to one of the others in the group.

Mr. WOOD. You knew who delivered it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I just knew that it was an individual. Let me make clear what my position is. My recollection by way of names of people is that on one or two occasions at the most to my knowledge—let me start again. Harold Ware was the person who stands out distinctly in my memory as the person who delivered the literature to the group by delivering it to one of the group. I forget the precise date, but sometime during that period he was killed in an automobile accident. That date is fairly close to the date that I left Washington. Between the day of his death and the time I left Washington, when I disconnected myself from the group, that literature came down, and I have a hazy recollection—and I cannot state this as an affirmative fact—that one person on one such occasion who may have brought the literature down and may have sat in with the group was this man named Peters.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know his first name?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. I just knew him as a man named Peters.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a photograph of the man whom you knew as Peters?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. WOOD. I believe, Mr. Counsel, the witness has answered your original question. You may proceed with additional questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photograph identified by the witness in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Pressman Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection it will be received.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Pressman Exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. NIXON. When did you first meet Peters?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My recollection is that it was once, and possibly twice. I would say definitely once. I can't remember the second occasion.

Mr. NIXON. You say once and possibly twice?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct, which followed the death of Harold Ware.

Mr. NIXON. As I understand your testimony, you met Peters definitely on one occasion?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. And possibly on two occasions?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Where did you meet him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not remember. I recall I met him with the group.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever met Peters since you broke with the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. In later years I may have met him socially, because as I recall his wife was secretary for some union and I may have seen him on social occasions, but I had no organizational relationship with him.

Mr. NIXON. How many times have you met Peters? You first said you met him once and possibly twice.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is right, with the group.

Mr. NIXON. Then you have met him since you broke with the Communist Party.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Under the circumstances I have stated.

Mr. NIXON. You say they were purely social occasions?

Mr. PRESSMAN. To the best of my recollection that is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You recall no business relations with Peters after 1935?

Mr. PRESSMAN. To the best of my recollection that is correct.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask counsel to continue the questions along the line I started, as to who was present at the meetings other than the four.

Mr. WOOD. Let counsel proceed, then the members of the committee will have an opportunity to ask such questions as they may desire.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know J. Peters by any other name?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No, I did not, just as Peters.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know his occupation?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party who came to Washington under the circumstances I have stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he appear at your meetings?

Mr. PRESSMAN. On one occasion, or possibly twice.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did he do at the meetings?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Participated in our discussions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he make a talk to the group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My recollection is on that occasion 15 or 16 years ago he merely participated in the discussion we were having.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the other persons who attended your meetings?

Mr. PRESSMAN. In addition to members of the group?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, and in addition to Mr. Peters.

Mr. PRESSMAN. In addition to members of the group those are the only persons I recall attending our meetings during the period I was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were those meetings held?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Usually at our respective homes; sometimes at some place other than our respective homes; maybe once or twice elsewhere. The incident would not stand out in my recollection particularly.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom did you pay your Communist Party dues?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Usually the person who came and delivered our literature would accept our dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you pay dues only twice during that year?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. Harold Ware would come down more frequently, obviously.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then who were the persons to whom you paid your Communist Party dues?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have just stated, Harold Ware, and Peters on the occasion he came down.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where there any others?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any of the other employees of AAA members of that group before you joined, or did they join after you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Counsel, I have attempted, as I was preparing for this meeting, to refresh my recollection, and, frankly I cannot state accurately just what the order of precedence was, how it occurred. I believe others may have joined the party before I did. In any event, there wasn't a long period of time between the others and myself. My recollection is we all appeared about the same time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you recruit any of those members in the organization?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you endeavor to recruit any of those members in the organization?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did not endeavor to recruit any of those individuals, and have not endeavored to recruit any individual into the party from 1932 to date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the officials of this group or cell to which you belonged?

Mr. PRESSMAN. We had no officials. It was just a group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there not a leader of that group, or someone in charge?

Mr. PRESSMAN. There was absolutely no leader. We were a group. However, it may make a much more colorful story for me to talk about leaders, but giving you facts, this is precisely what occurred; we were a group. If there was a task to perform, one individual would be assigned to that task, such as receiving literature. If there were dues to be collected, an individual would be assigned to the task of collecting dues. It would be left to the discretion of an individual to call the next meeting and arrange whether it would be at my home or at the home of another member. That is the way it worked out during the period I was in the group.

(Hon. Francis E. Walter left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of assignments being given to various ones to do certain jobs. Who made the assignments?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The members of our group, or by volunteering. One would say, "I will do this or that," or we agreed to do this or that,

just in the same fashion you and I may do in an organization to which we belonged.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ware had connections with other groups of the Communist Party in the city of Washington, did he not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have no knowledge of that fact.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you were not with him when he had connections with other groups?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I mean I have no knowledge of the fact.

(Hon. Morgan M. Moulder left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did your group ever meet with any other group of Communists?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you discuss in any of your meetings the possibility or advisability that some of your members should meet with members of another group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. There was no such discussion at any meeting which I attended. May I at this point make an observation?

Mr. WOOD. If it is not too lengthy, yes.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I observe the note of surprise in the voice of counsel regarding the functioning of this group, and I take it that appears because of a highly different type of discussion of the operation of the group that may have been furnished here by Mr. Chambers, for example.

I make two points: First, Mr. Chambers, nowhere in the entire record, to my knowledge—I may be wrong about this; I haven't studied the record as carefully as possibly counsel for the committee has done—to my knowledge Mr. Chambers does not once state that he attended the meetings and met me at any meeting of the group. There was always the inference he knew of us as a group, but not that he met me at the meetings.

Secondly, to show you how inaccuracies can develop, on page 576 of the record of the proceedings of this committee you will find an exchange between Mr. Chambers and Mr. Hébert. Mr. Chambers I quote first:

After I had been in Washington a while it was very clear that some of the members of these groups were going places in the Government.

And I quote Mr. Hébert:

What year is this?

Mr. Chambers:

I would think about 1936. One of them clearly was Alger Hiss, and it was believed that Henry Collins also might go farther. Also was Lee Pressman.

And there is some more comment, and he says they decided to separate some of these people, and so on.

Now, get that. In 1936, as a matter of public record, Lee Pressman was in the city of New York. Chambers has me going high in Government places, and Lee Pressman is in the city of New York, having left Washington and the Government service a year before.

Mr. WOOD. Let us not labor the point, Mr. Pressman. I think your answer was responsive to the question. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you familiar with what is known as a member at large of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Frankly, I am not. I can just guess from what you say that a member at large would be a member who is not a member of a group.

Mr. TAVENNER. And do you know that such a member does not pay Communist Party dues, normally?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not know that of my own knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you not know that such an individual's membership is entirely separate and distinct from a membership in a cell, and that he is connected with just a few superiors in the party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I repeat that I do not have any such knowledge at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you discuss with any of the other members of your group who were employees of the AAA their uniting with this cell before they actually joined?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am not sure I get the point of that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you discuss with any of the other employees in the AAA their uniting with this Communist Party cell before they united with it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did not. I was solicited to join the Communist Party by Harold Ware. When I assented, he advised me where I was to attend a meeting of the group. When I came to the meeting of that group I found these three other members of the group, whose entrance into the Communist Party and the date I do not recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you talk to any of those persons prior to uniting with the party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. About joining the party?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. PRESSMAN. The answer is no.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other units or branches of the Communist Party were in existence in Washington while you were here and a member of the party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have answered that before, sir. I had no information of any other group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who succeeded Ware upon his death in the duties that he performed in the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have already told you. Mr. Peters came down after his death.

Mr. TAVENNER. Any other person?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Not to my recollection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was connected with this cell or branch of the party at any time after you left it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That I do not know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Mrs. Helen Ware, the wife of Harold Ware?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have met her socially.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she ever attend one of these Communist Party meetings?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was mistaken about her being the wife of Harold Ware. I think she is the sister of Harold Ware. Did you ever meet the sister of Harold Ware?

Mr. PRESSMAN. What is her name?

Mr. TAVENNER. Helen.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Helen Ware?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have never met Helen Ware. I thought you were referring to the wife of Mr. Ware; I am sorry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the wife's first name?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The widow of Harold Ware?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think her first name was Jessica.

Mr. TAVENNER. You left the city of Washington for private employment in New York in the summer of 1936, about June, I believe you said, or was it later than that?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I said the latter part of 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. The later part of 1935?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I know this, sir, I can't give you the precise date, but it was in the winter of 1935-36. I know it was in the winter because when we moved up to New York on Riverside Drive we encountered the winter wind, which fixes it in my mind that it was in the winter of 1935-36.

Mr. TAVENNER. How soon after that was it you took the position as general counsel of the CIO?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am afraid you may not have listened to me before.

Mr. TAVENNER. First it was the Steelworkers Organizing Committee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes. It was in June 1936 that I was asked by Mr. Lewis to be general counsel of the Steelworkers Organizing Committee. And may I clear up a point at this juncture?

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask a question, and then you can clear it up. Did you tell Mr. Lewis that you had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how soon after that did you accept employment as general counsel of the CIO?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have stated that. I think it was in 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you tell Mr. Philip Murray that you had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The answer is "No," but Philip Murray was not president of the CIO at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. John L. Lewis was?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes. The answer is "No" to your question.

Mr. TAVENNER. After Mr. Murray became president, did you at any time tell him you had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The answer is "No."

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you tell anyone connected with the CIO that you had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The answer is "No."

Mr. CASE. Would your answer be the same as to Harry Hopkins?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. CASE. Would your answer be the same as to——

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Wallace and Mr. Jerome Frank and Mr. Tugwell.

Mr. TAVENNER. You state you severed your connection with the Communist Party. To whom did you give notice of that severance of connection?

Mr. PRESSMAN. When I left the city of Washington I advised the group—and I believe on that occasion Mr. Peters may have been present—that I was leaving the city of Washington, leaving the Federal Government, and I was disassociating myself from the group, or the Communist Party, or any group of the Communist Party.

Mr. WOOD. Were all members of the group present when you made that assertion?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you assign any reason for doing so?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think the most precise way I can put it is to say, as I have stated before, that I wanted to leave the Federal Government, that I was going back to the city of New York, and that I preferred from that moment on, at least, in my private practice, not to have organizational relationship with the Communist Party, such as being a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. That did not mean that you had severed all connection with the Communist Party, did it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. At that time?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. PRESSMAN. At that time it did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee about your subsequent connection with the Communist Party.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Over the past number of years I have had contacts and dealings with known leaders of the Communist Party whom I have met from time to time.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was the nature of those contacts which you have mentioned?

Mr. PRESSMAN. They would discuss with me their viewpoints, their recommendations, and suggestions, with respect to organizational activities of the CIO while I was counsel for the CIO. I discussed those problems with these people. When they made recommendations or suggestions which I deemed to be of assistance or helpful to the CIO, I accepted them.

I state here now, as categorically as I can, that at no time from 1936 until 1948 did I take instructions or directives from anyone, including these leaders of the Communist Party, which were contrary to the established policy of the CIO. The only persons who gave me instructions or directives while I was with the CIO were the official officers of the CIO. And here now I challenge anyone to point to a single act or utterance of mine while I was with the CIO, Mr. Chairman, which was contrary to the established policy of the CIO.

Mr. CASE. But you did receive instructions during the period you were a member of the Communist Party and in the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I would say I do not recall instructions as such, Mr. Congressman, because in the kind of work I was then doing there was nothing I could be instructed about.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Pressman, can I go back a moment to your break with the party. You said you wanted no organizational relationship with the party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. In the sense of considering myself a member completely committed to all the policies and doctrines of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Was your break in 1935 an ideological break with the party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I would say not completely.

Mr. NIXON. Following that, and relating to your service with the CIO, can you indicate to the committee any instances during the time you were with the CIO when the policy of the CIO was different from that of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think the question might be put the other way, namely: When did the Communist Party policy differ from that established by the CIO? I think it is unfair to the CIO to suggest that they were following the policies of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Take the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact. What was the policy of the CIO then?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That pact was in 1939?

Mr. NIXON. I believe you know.

Mr. PRESSMAN. In October or November 1939 the CIO had a convention in the city of San Francisco. At that time it adopted a resolution regarding its viewpoint concerning the position of the United States in the international conflict. That resolution was formulated by none other than the leaders of the CIO at that time. It was unanimously adopted by the executive board of the CIO and by the entire convention of the CIO. That was October 1939. I see you have a copy of that resolution before you.

Mr. NIXON. Not the whole resolution, but a portion of it.

Mr. PRESSMAN. You can read that in the record if you want to.

Mr. NIXON. There were a number of resolutions adopted by the CIO. The one you refer to read that the CIO was opposed to any foreign entanglement that might involve us in a foreign war. That was immediately after the Hitler-Stalin pact. I might say in November 1940, 1 year later, when Lee Pressman was secretary of the resolutions committee, the same resolution was passed.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Would you add for the record that that resolution was adopted by the executive board of the CIO and the entire convention of the CIO.

Mr. NIXON. I don't doubt that it was. I am merely pointing out that, in this period, which is rather significant, in at least two different annual conventions, the CIO did not deviate from the Communist Party line.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Nixon, if I may say, without being in any way coy about it, I think at the same time substantially the entire leadership of the Republican Party was taking the same position.

Mr. NIXON. For the same reason?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't know. I don't recall what the reason may have been in the CIO. The leaders of the CIO made the decision.

Mr. NIXON. Let us go up a year to 1941. In 1941 the leaders of the Republican Party—that was after Hitler marched into Germany—

Mr. PRESSMAN. Marched into Russia.

Mr. NIXON. I am sorry. I think you will see the stand of the Republican Party to which you refer was the same.

Mr. PRESSMAN. You know better than I do.

Mr. NIXON. You seem to know what the stand was in 1939 and 1940.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Because that issue has repeatedly arisen.

Mr. NIXON. Certainly there were some people in the Republican Party, and some in the Democratic Party, who were for neutrality during the Hitler-Stalin Pact and until Pearl Harbor; but the sig-

nificant fact is that in November 1941, before Pearl Harbor, the CIO adopted a resolution which I quote: "Support of all possible aid to Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China."

Do you know of any instance during the time you were general counsel of the CIO when the policy of the CIO deviated from that of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is a very hard question.

Mr. NIXON. I recognize it is a hard question.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I remember one specific instance which would nail any false impression that may have occurred in the colloquy between us in the last few moments. I believe it was in the early part of 1941, before, let us say, June 21, 1941, the date of the invasion by Germany of the Soviet Union or Russia, that lend-lease was up. I was requested by President Murray to work with him on a statement which he issued at that time respecting lend-lease. The bill was then before Congress. Mr. Philip Murray was then president of the CIO, having come into the presidency in November, I believe, 1940, or December. That statement, on which I worked with Mr. Murray, gave complete support to the lend-lease program, and that statement was issued to Members of Congress as a matter of public record, and at that time the Communist Party was bitterly opposed to the lend-lease program. That is one instance that stands out in my memory.

Mr. NIXON. At what convention was that resolution adopted?

Mr. PRESSMAN. It was not a resolution. It was a statement issued by President Murray of the CIO supporting the lend-lease program in February or March 1941, and I shared in the preparation of that statement.

Mr. NIXON. I note also in the convention I have mentioned a resolution was adopted supporting Harry Bridges.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That was done throughout all the conventions, because the CIO determined at that time in its own wisdom that as a leader in a trade union they would give him their support.

Mr. NIXON. It since has determined in its own wisdom that it should not support Harry Bridges?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe so, from the public press.

Mr. NIXON. Do you agree with that present stand of the CIO?

Mr. PRESSMAN. You mean the ouster of Bridges from the CIO?

Mr. NIXON. Do you agree with the CIO in the ouster of Harry Bridges?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am of the opinion that the position of the CIO, and specifically that of Philip Murray, in relation to what the CIO has condemned as left-wing organizations, is a correct one.

Mr. NIXON. You know Harry Bridges?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have met him repeatedly, surely. That was my job as general counsel of the CIO, to work with all leaders of the CIO. But may I go back to differences between the CIO and the Communist Party. The CIO convention of 1940 adopted a resolution condemning communism. I assure you that was not the position of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. NIXON. Did you support the resolution?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did. I was secretary of the resolutions committee and it was adopted by unanimous consent of the resolutions committee. I read the resolution at the convention.

Mr. CASE. Then why didn't you cooperate with the committee when you were before it since that time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Congressman, will you concede or grant me the privilege of having differences of opinion regarding this committee?

Mr. CASE. That may be, but if you want to go on record as saying that in 1940 you helped prepare and present a resolution opposing communism, why didn't you, when you were before the committee since that time, cooperate with the committee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was trying to say to you, Mr. Congressman, that with all due deference to the members of this committee, I, for one, and I think there are others in a similar position, have their viewpoint regarding communism, being opposed to it, who do not agree with what this committee has done in certain situations; and therefore, when you ask for cooperation, you must recall that this committee has done many things with which, whether they be large or small, segments of the population disagree.

Mr. CASE. That may be, but that does not answer the question why you yourself failed to make clear your break with communism.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I can't do more than state what I have said.

Mr. CASE. I don't think you can.

Mr. NIXON. Let me develop that point. I think, as you say, there are people who have an honest difference of opinion about this committee, and I think that, coming from me, may come as a surprise to you. But by the same token, why did you refuse to cooperate with the FBI?

Mr. PRESSMAN. How do you know I did? Are you stating that as a fact?

Mr. NIXON. I am asking if you have conveyed to the FBI this information you are giving the committee today?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have not.

Mr. NIXON. Have you been asked?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Not yet.

Mr. NIXON. The FBI has not asked you to give it information concerning your break with the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. They have not.

Mr. NIXON. Have they ever?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. When?

Mr. PRESSMAN. About 2½ years ago.

Mr. NIXON. What did you do?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I took the same position as I did before this committee about 2½ years ago.

Mr. NIXON. What was the basis for your refusing to give information to the FBI?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My best judgment at that time.

Mr. NIXON. That means you had the same feeling about the FBI as you did about this committee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. There are things about the FBI with which I would disagree, surely.

Mr. NIXON. The FBI is the investigative branch of the Government. It, too, may make mistakes, but the FBI has the duty of investigating not only subversive activities but investigating charges of espionage and the like. You have stated that you would not talk to this committee because you didn't like the methods of this committee. I think that is what you said, in essence.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I said what I felt two and a half years ago.

Mr. NIXON. What was your reason for refusing to cooperate with the Justice Department—the FBI?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Two and a half years ago?

Mr. NIXON. Yes; when you had broken with the Communist Party and vigorously supported a resolution opposing communism?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Let me make it clear. My complete break as a matter of profound convictions has been made at this time.

Mr. NIXON. Just a moment. In other words, do I understand the break in 1935 was not a complete break?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Let me finish.

Mr. NIXON. I want the record clear.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I will make it clear if you will let me finish. As of this time there is a complete, absolute ideological break. Just be patient.

Mr. NIXON. I am waiting.

Mr. PRESSMAN. You asked me before whether when I left Washington there was a complete ideological break back in 1935, and I said no. I am trying the best I can to give an expression of what I felt. I cited the resolution of 1940, and a similar resolution I believe in 1945 or 1946, to demonstrate this. Even after those resolutions were adopted I met with leaders of the Communist Party, as I did before, but I cited those resolutions to show that, while I met with them and dealt with them, they did not direct my activities or my opinions or beliefs.

Mr. CASE. What you are trying to say is that it was not a profound conviction in 1940 when you presented the resolution opposing communism?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I presented it on behalf of the resolutions committee.

Mr. NIXON. Did you agree with the resolution?

Mr. PRESSMAN. At that time I thought it was a mistake.

Mr. NIXON. Did you support the resolution?

Mr. PRESSMAN. At that time I thought it was a mistake, but I supported it.

Mr. HARRISON. You didn't want to break with Murray over that resolution at that time; is that why you went along?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I took the opinion of the majority of the resolutions committee because I was a servant of the CIO.

Mr. HARRISON. You didn't want to have a break with the CIO at that time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Did you have a vote on that resolution?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did.

Mr. McSWEENEY. You were secretary?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. When did the officers of the CIO learn of your affiliation with the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not know.

Mr. HARRISON. Did they ever ask you about it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. HARRISON. Even after your appearance before this committee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was not their counsel at that time.

Mr. HARRISON. Weren't you counsel for Murray and others in their indictments under the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That was before my appearance before this committee in 1948.

Mr. HARRISON. When did you become counsel for Murray and others?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe 1948.

Mr. HARRISON. When did Chambers testify?

Mr. PRESSMAN. July or August 1948, I believe.

Mr. HARRISON. Then you were connected with the CIO as counsel at the time he testified?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My recollection is that case had already been decided.

Mr. HARRISON. Had been decided?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is my recollection.

Mr. HARRISON. No officer of the CIO ever inquired of you as to your membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is my recollection.

Mr. HARRISON. Have you ever been expelled from the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I received no notice of expulsion.

Mr. HARRISON. That is their procedure, is it not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. To my mind, when I left that was my departure from the Communist Party.

Mr. HARRISON. They did not notify you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No; but I left.

Mr. NIXON. Organizationally speaking?

Mr. PRESSMAN. As a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Organizationally speaking?

Mr. PRESSMAN. As a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. We won't quibble.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I hope we won't.

Mr. WOOD. Didn't you say a moment ago that when you left you didn't want any organizational connection?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. HARRISON. There has been a rumor for years back that you were a member of the Communist Party, and no officer of the CIO, John L. Lewis or Philip Murray or any other officer of the CIO, ever asked you if that was true or not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct. You see, there have been plenty of rumors in the press as to Communist membership of other leaders of the CIO. If they gave heed to all the rumors, they would have a difficult task.

Mr. NIXON. So that the record may be clear on the matter of your statement with reference to giving the FBI the same answers you gave this committee, as I understand now, the reason for your refusal to talk to the FBI was slightly different from your reason for refusing to talk to the committee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. You mean two and a half years ago?

Mr. NIXON. Yes. Or were they the same?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Trying to throw myself back to two and a half years ago, at that time it would not be correct to say that my ideological break was as complete as today.

Mr. NIXON. You mean to say, as I understand it, that your ideological break with the party had not reached the point where you were willing to give any testimony that might be harmful to the party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Not to the party, but that might be harmful to me, too.

Mr. NIXON. Harmful to you how?

Mr. PRESSMAN. If you remember the wild accusations that were floating around in 1948.

Mr. NIXON. You could have answered those accusations.

Mr. PRESSMAN. But by people who were not adhering completely to the truth.

Mr. NIXON. You had the same opportunity then as today to correct those mistakes.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That may be true. Today I hope I can correct those mistakes.

Mr. NIXON. You could have talked to the FBI, couldn't you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I see in the morning Herald Tribune a story that they came to me and I rebuffed them. Where do they get these stories? With respect to the FBI, any relations I had with the FBI is a matter between them and me, whatever that may be. With respect to this committee, I will answer all questions propounded to me with respect to my present or past activities.

Mr. CASE. Have you had any connection with the Government since 1935?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not believe so. I have no recollection of any whatever.

Mr. CASE. You returned to Washington in 1938?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes. I was general counsel to the CIO at that time.

Mr. CASE. When did you leave the CIO?

Mr. PRESSMAN. February 1948.

Mr. CASE. What did you do then?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I went into the private practice of law in New York City.

Mr. CASE. And you have had no consulting relationship with any branch of the Government since 1935?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely none.

Mr. HARRISON. For what unions have you appeared as counsel since the resumption of your private practice in 1948?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My firm represented the Fur Workers Union, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and Food and Tobacco Workers, and the United Public Workers, too, I believe.

Mr. HARRISON. And they have all been expelled from the CIO?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe so.

Mr. WOOD. Are you still counsel for them?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. WOOD. When did you sever your connection with them as counsel?

Mr. PRESSMAN. November 1949, before their expulsion.

Mr. WOOD. Less than a year ago?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Did I understand you to say in 1935 you were counsel for two agencies of the Government?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct, but getting a salary from one.

Mr. NIXON. I am not quibbling about salary. What were those agencies?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Works Progress Administration and I believe the Resettlement Administration. I believe it was then called the Farm Security Administration, and subsequently changed its name to the Resettlement Administration.

Mr. CASE. Wasn't it the other way around?

Mr. PRESSMAN. It may be.

Mr. NIXON. During the period you were counsel for those two Government agencies, you were an active member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. CASE. While you were counsel for Mr. Tugwell's Resettlement Administration, did you set up the plans for State medical associations?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I had nothing to do with that.

Mr. CASE. That was one of the things sponsored by that agency?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes, but I was merely counsel.

Mr. CASE. Did you pass on that?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That was done locally. Every State or regional unit had its own attorneys, and that did not come through my office. The only reason I happen to remember is that I do know that raised such an issue in Congress at that time that it stands out in my memory as something there was a great hullabaloo about nationally, and I was not involved because it was being handled by local attorneys.

Mr. CASE. Who passed on whether funds of the Federal Government could be used locally?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The administrator of the agency at the time I was counsel.

Mr. CASE. Administratively, they determined the funds could be used without consulting you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Very frequently administrators do not consult their counsel.

Mr. CASE. The question came up whether or not the money was properly expended. It is difficult for me to understand why you were not consulted.

Mr. PRESSMAN. When a man gets in public service he acts no differently in relation to his lawyer than he does when not in the Government service. He may consult his lawyer and he may not. I recall I was not consulted in that relation.

Mr. CASE. When you received Communist literature, what did you do with it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Analyzed it. If you mean whether we did anything about it in the agency in which we worked, the answer is "No."

Mr. CASE. Just a mutual admiration society?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. We would read the literature and analyze it.

Mr. CASE. No attempt was made to carry it out in the activities in which you were engaged?

Mr. PRESSMAN. At that time, if you bear in mind the agencies with which I was working, namely, Agriculture, WPA, the Resettlement Administration, there was no occasion to carry into that work the kind of literature we were receiving.

Mr. CASE. My recollection is, Harold Ware came back from Russia to infiltrate agricultural movements of the country and to establish

there the principles of communism, and Harold Ware is the man who recruited you into the party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I cannot tell you about his activities. I can tell you about my own activities.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Did you ever read anything in this literature that you thought you might try as an experiment in the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not recall anything.

Mr. CASE. You had an iron curtain between your activities in the Department of Agriculture and the things you discussed in your group meetings?

Mr. PRESSMAN. You are commenting. You are not asking a question.

Mr. CASE. Did you or did you not carry over into your activities as an official of the Department of Agriculture any of the things which you discussed in your group meetings?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did not.

Mr. CASE. Then you did have an iron curtain between the two?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is your comment.

Mr. NIXON. Did I understand you to say that you had not attempted to obtain Government positions for any members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am awfully glad you asked that question. I haven't answered that yet. I will now. I did get a position in the legal division of the Department of Agriculture for Mr. Nathan Witt, whom I knew in New York as an attorney. Beyond that one position, Mr. Congressman, I don't recall, in the year or two I was in the Government and all the years I was with the CIO, any single individual for whom I got a position in the Federal Government. I want to emphasize that as vehemently as I can because of expressions that have appeared in the public press that in some fantastic fashion I was responsible for a whole group of people in the Federal Government.

Mr. CASE. Were you responsible for Nathan Witt coming into the Communist group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I answered that; no.

Mr. CASE. Did he know you were a member when he became a member?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I answered that by saying when I joined the party and was asked to attend a meeting, he was there.

Mr. NIXON. When you left the group in 1935, did any other members of the group leave with you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know if any other members of the group have since severed their connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not know because I have not at any time thereafter asked any individual or secured any information on that issue.

Mr. NIXON. Have you seen Nathan Witt since 1935?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes. As you know, I was a partner of his from February 1948 until November 1949.

Mr. NIXON. You were a partner of his from February 1948 until November 1949?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. And you don't know whether he is still a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have not asked and I do not know as a fact.

Mr. NIXON. Have you had any conversation that would indicate he was?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No, nor any circumstances under which I can make a fair inference with respect to it.

Mr. NIXON. What about John Abt; when did you last see him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think the last time I saw him may have been around 1948 or 1949. There has been a considerable time in the recent past that I have not seen him; and the same with respect to Charles Kramer.

Mr. NIXON. You do not know whether they are now members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not.

Mr. NIXON. You do not know whether they have broken with the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is an unfair question. That implies they were.

Mr. NIXON. You said they were.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Let us not quibble.

Mr. NIXON. Are you now saying John Abt, Nathan Witt, and Charles Kramer were not members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. You have asked whether I know if they are members of the Communist Party today.

Mr. NIXON. Or whether they have broken from the Communist Party.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am answering now as to their present membership. I do not know.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know whether or not any one of these three men broke from the Communist Party since 1935?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Let me ask the decision of the chairman.

Mr. WOOD. You can answer whether you know or not if they have broken from the Communist Party.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I can answer by saying I do not know.

Mr. CASE. In your own employment, did you have civil service status?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't think civil service applied at that time, in 1935.

Mr. CASE. Did you file Form 57?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't know what that form is.

Mr. CASE. The standard form for Government employment.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't know what that form is.

Mr. CASE. Was your employment subject to Senate confirmation?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. CASE. You were appointed solely on the responsibility of the head of the agency or the Secretary of Agriculture?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. McSWEENEY. You had to take an oath, did you not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. NIXON. I think you will recall at the time you appeared in this room in 1948, at that same session Mr. Witt and Mr. Abt appeared, and on that occasion, as you know, each of you refused to answer questions on constitutional grounds. Did you, before or

after that hearing, discuss with them the procedure you would follow or had followed in appearing before the committee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Substantially, each made his own decision.

Mr. NIXON. Did you discuss it with them?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes, but each made his own decision.

Mr. NIXON. And you have not discussed or learned since then as to whether they were still members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is right. I have been most careful about not making such inquiries of any human being.

Mr. NIXON. Is the inference that such inquiry should not be made?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. I just said I did not.

Mr. CASE. And you did not think you should make that inquiry when you went in partnership with Mr. Witt?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I make no inquiry as to political affiliation.

Mr. NIXON. Do you consider membership in the Communist Party a political affiliation?

Mr. PRESSMAN. At this point; no.

Mr. WOOD. When you formed your law partnership with Mr. Witt, did you consider membership in the Communist Party an ordinary political affiliation?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My position today is not my position in February 1948.

Mr. WOOD. That is not an answer to the question.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think it is. My viewpoint in February 1948 in regard to the Communist Party is not the viewpoint I have today.

Mr. WOOD. In February 1948 was it your belief that membership in the Communist Party was an ordinary political affiliation?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was prepared at that time to accept the premise that it was.

Mr. WOOD. Did you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. At that time?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. McSWEENEY. After you joined this group of four, did you feel anything had gone on that violated your oath?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Nothing went on that you felt violated your oath?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. NIXON. The Korean incident occurred the latter part of June. Your publicized break with the American Labor Party occurred August 10, as I recall. During that intervening period, do I understand you were unable to make up your mind as to whether or not you were going to make a complete ideological break?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Nixon, I am very happy you asked that question, because it affords an opportunity of describing something to you which I have not yet made clear. In my opening statement I made an observation that the position which I am now taking stems from what I consider to be very profound convictions. That is a conclusion that one does not reach at 6 p. m., on the night of August 11. That is a conclusion—at least with a person such as myself who has strong convictions and strong beliefs—that takes time for me, at least, to formulate.

I, during the period of the past at least a year, and possibly even longer, but at least a year, as some of my friends know, have begun to consider this basic problem; and when I became firmly convinced, perhaps I was late, later than others; perhaps I made more mistakes than others; if so, that can only be laid at the doorstep of my bad judgment or the fact I am not as acute as I am supposed to be; but when I made my decision, I wanted to make my position publicly known. I made my position known before I was given any subpoena to appear before this committee. I made my position known of my own accord. I made it public so that everybody could know exactly where I stand. If you ask me why I didn't make it known the day after the Korean incident, it is because in the formulation of my convictions it takes time.

Mr. NIXON. You mean the fact that the United States had become involved in a war with Communist aggressors was not in itself sufficient to hasten the decision?

Mr. PRESSMAN. It did hasten my decision.

Mr. NIXON. But you could not make it at that time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. But I was formulating the situation in my own mind, trying to decide how I should say it, what I should say, whether I should simply step aside, or what I should do. This was not an easy decision to make.

Mr. NIXON. Do I understand your decision was made at the time that the United States became involved in the war, and you were only concerned with how to implement it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I would say when the incident did occur that made it clear to my mind the position I had to take to be true to my own conviction.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have met him socially.

Mr. NIXON. Where?

Mr. PRESSMAN. In Washington. I believe our acquaintance developed when he was with the Resettlement Administration.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know whether he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not.

Mr. NIXON. You never discussed that with him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. You never discussed his record with anybody else?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You have read his record in the papers?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. NIXON. You do not know whether he was ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Louise Bransten?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe I met her once socially in California, but just once.

Mr. NIXON. Who else was present at that social gathering?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I imagine about 75 other people. It was a cocktail party given in her house in California.

Mr. NIXON. Was Paul Robeson there?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. That I know, because I would remember him by his sheer height.

Mr. NIXON. Was Silvermaster present?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. I will read you a portion of the testimony of Mr. Russell in 1948. Mr. Russell was putting in the record a civil service report of 1944 in which the Civil Service Commission stated the facts in its files regarding Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, and it states:

Mr. Silvermaster admitted his close association with the persons referred to in the testimony of the various witnesses, among whom are well-known Communists. He admitted that he is aware of the fact that Richard Bransten, alias Richard Brandstein, alias Bruce Minton, is a member of the Communist Party and is at present an editor of New Masses. He stated that Bransten is one of his closest social friends at this time and that he and his wife were guests in the Bransten home along with Paul Robeson and Lee Pressman 2 weeks before the hearing.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is Mr. Bransten's second wife. You asked about Louise Bransten. That is his first wife. Mr. Bransten and his second wife lived here in the city of Washington and they were known Communists, at least Mr. Richard Bransten was.

Mr. NIXON. An open member, you mean?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct. At his house I also met Mr. Silvermaster, and if he says I was there with Paul Robeson, I probably was. I do not recall, but I make no issue of it. I know I have been at Mr. Bransten's home when Mr. Silvermaster was there.

Mr. NIXON. Was Mr. Robeson there?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not know.

Mr. NIXON. A moment ago you said you would remember him because of his height.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was talking about the occasion in California.

Mr. NIXON. Are people taller in California than in Washington?

Mr. PRESSMAN. They are. I recall I was in Louise Bransten's home only once and he was not there.

Mr. NIXON. At the meeting in Richard Bransten's home in Washington, was Paul Robeson there?

Mr. PRESSMAN. He may have been.

Mr. NIXON. Was Silvermaster there?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes. I know we were all living in Washington and frequently met at his home.

Mr. NIXON. You know he was not in California?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I know he was not because a person was in California who was living with him at that time. Let us not quibble over mere details. You asked me whether I had ever met Louise Bransten. I am trying to point out you do not know all the facts. Louise Bransten was the first wife of Richard Bransten. She lived in California. I was at her home I believe once, back in 1945. I know when I was there Mr. Silvermaster was not there, because he was then working in the city of Washington.

Mr. WOOD. You made the statement that you knew Robeson was not at Mrs. Bransten's home because you would remember him because of his extreme height. Now you say you do not remember if he was in Mr. Bransten's home here in Washington.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I met often at Mr. Bransten's home in the city of Washington. I know Silvermaster was frequently present. Whether on a social occasion over a period of 2 years Mr. Robeson was there, I won't say yes or no. If someone says he was, he probably was.

Mr. CASE. What years was it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe Mr. Bransten was in Washington from 1942 or 1943 to about 1944. That was after I came back to Washington with the CIO.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Were these four members married men, the four members of your group in the Agriculture Department?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think they were all married.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. And you held your meetings at the homes of these different members?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct, generally speaking.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Did the women have any knowledge of the type of meetings?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No; just as men have poker parties and the women go to the moving pictures, they went to moving pictures on those occasions.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Pressman, in your opening statement you said that you as a lawyer particularly did not want to comment on a case which is presently before the courts. You think as a general rule that is a bad practice, as I understand it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. It is bad practice in all instances, I assume?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I would say so.

Mr. NIXON. Why did you comment on the trial of the 11 Communists in New York?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I commented on the jury system, because that issue went far beyond the trial of the 11 individuals. I commented on the selection of jurors, because at that time I felt it was unfair to members of the trade-union whom I was representing, because it was stated publicly by Federal Judge Knox that people from the higher income brackets would be in the only ones called.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall the trial of the Trotskyites under the Smith Act?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did you condemn the trial system at that time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't recall that I did.

Mr. NIXON. What statement did you issue in regard to the trial of the Trotskyites?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I didn't issue any statement.

Mr. NIXON. What was your position on that?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My position is that the Smith Act would be a violation of constitutional rights, whether in the trial of the Trotskyites or anybody else. I have not read the record of the 11 Communists. If the statute is interpreted to mean some mere speech, it would be a violation of the constitutional rights of free speech.

Mr. NIXON. Where it proves a conspiracy, you would recognize that as a basis for prosecution?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Provided you had overt acts and so forth.

Mr. CASE. And that is whether the speech advocates a change in government by normal methods or by violent overthrow, if necessary?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Since you are asking my legal opinion, I want to be very precise. I have had many occasions, during my 10 years as counsel for the CIO, to appear before the courts and argue on the constitutionality of many statutes which interfered with what we considered to be our right of freedom of speech. Without going into a long discussion at the moment, which would be required to give my

complete position, I can say this, that the clear and present danger test that has been laid down by the Supreme Court is the only guidepost and only rule which I can follow as a lawyer, which is that when you have acts which present a clear and present danger from a substantive evil which the State has a right to legislate on or prevent, then you can interfere with that evil even though it stops expressions of speech.

In regard to the 11 Communists, the circuit court of appeals has said that their indictment and conviction fall within that rule. That is before the Supreme Court, and they will decide it by some majority decision, whether yes or no.

Mr. WOOD. How do you know it will be a majority decision?

Mr. PRESSMAN. By some majority decision.

Mr. WOOD. You imply it will not be a unanimous decision.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I mean it will be the decision of the court.

Mr. CASE. Was it your opinion a year ago that a clear and present danger existed, leading to the announcement you made?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I would say my problems and my viewpoint did not lead into that field. My whole contact has been in the trade-union movement, and it has not been in terms of force and violence.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand in recess until 3 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 1:25 p. m., a recess was taken until 3 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 3 p. m., Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney, Richard M. Nixon, and Harold H. Velde being present.)

Mr. WOOD. Let the committee be in order.

TESTIMONY OF LEE PRESSMAN—Resumed

I believe Mr. Nixon was interrogating the witness at the time of the recess. In the interest of economizing on the time, I am going to ask the members, after Mr. Nixon is through with the line of questions he had, to withhold further questions of the witness until counsel has finished his interrogation of the witness, at which time each member will be given an opportunity to ask such questions as he may desire.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Pressman, we mentioned before lunch Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, and as I recall you stated you had met him socially in Washington on occasions; is that correct?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall other occasions, other than the one we referred to?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I said I met Mr. Silvermaster many times socially in the city of Washington, but I could not recall any specific occasion. They were all in connection with social relations.

Mr. NIXON. You had no occasion to have any business relations with Mr. Silvermaster whatever?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe the business dealings would date back to the time when he was in the Resettlement Administration, is my recollection. He was working with some farm labor problems when I was there. My business relations would be confined to that.

Mr. NIXON. You had some business dealings with him at that time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct. Oh, I am sorry. To be completely accurate, I believe he was with the Maritime Labor Board when I was with the CIO, and in that connection I may have had some business dealings with him.

Mr. NIXON. I understand your testimony to be that the only three people besides yourself who were members of the Communist Party in the Government, to your knowledge, were Nathan Witt, John Abt, and Charles Kramer. Is that correct?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I said the three members of my group, in addition to myself, were the three persons who have been named who were in the Department of Agriculture when I was there. I am not trying to quibble.

Mr. NIXON. I prefer not to leave it in that unsettled state of affairs. It seems to me it does appear to be quibbling. I understand you to say the only three persons besides yourself who were members of the Communist Party in the Government, to your knowledge, were John Abt, Nathan Witt, and Charles Kramer?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I will ask the chairman if that problem has been disposed of in the morning session. If Mr. Nixon would care to interrogate me on any other individual, I will be delighted to answer.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I don't care to question him on any other matter until he has answered that question. He has issued a statement denouncing the Communist Party, and I think there is a moral issue here. It is a moral issue that is a very important one. There are individuals who are involved, and individual feelings, and I can appreciate your individual feelings, and I appreciate the fact you have attempted to come in and present to the committee up to this point information that will be of value, but there is a greater moral issue involved, and that is the security of the country, and I think under the circumstances you should answer the question as to whether or not these three people were the only people who were members of the Communist Party, to your knowledge, at the time you were in the Government.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, you may recall this morning I left that question entirely in the hands of the committee.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a ruling on that point, and I urge strongly it would be setting a bad precedent not to insist on a direct answer from this witness. We cannot have a precedent established to have a witness who has broken from the party, by his refusal to answer—

Mr. PRESSMAN. Let the record be perfectly clear. In all fairness to the witness I think it should be clear that I did not refuse to answer.

Mr. WOOD. Please don't break in.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think the chairman should be fair to the witness.

Mr. NIXON. The record of Mr. Pressman's appearance is available, and I think it will show on constitutional grounds Mr. Pressman refused to answer the questions asked.

Mr. PRESSMAN. You mean in 1948?

Mr. NIXON. He can quibble as to whether he refused or not, but the fact is he did not answer questions he was asked.

Mr. PRESSMAN. In 1948? I beg your pardon. I thought you were asking about this morning.

Mr. NIXON. That was 12 years after he had broken with the Communist Party. I think since he has now stated there has been a complete ideological break from the party, there should be a forthright answer to the question. I think, Mr. Pressman, you are aware of the fact there are a number of people in the country who are wondering whether your break was a complete break. I want to give you the benefit of the doubt. But I will say you are not going to be able to convince a great majority of the people of the country that the break has been complete unless you come clean and answer the questions forthrightly, and place the security of the country above personal issues.

Mr. PRESSMAN. May I make a brief statement before you make your ruling, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WOOD. I am not making a ruling. We cannot compel you to answer. All we can do is ask questions.

Mr. PRESSMAN. May I comment?

Mr. WOOD. I think you should first determine whether you will answer the question. First of all I would like to know what your answer is.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I would like to explain it.

Mr. WOOD. Tell us what your answer is first, and then explain it. That is a rule of evidence in courts of law. We are not trying to conduct this as a hearing in a court of law, but the rule is you answer first and then explain.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Nixon has prefaced his question with a statement.

Mr. WOOD. Let us ignore the preface and just answer the question.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Unfortunately, I can't, because he stated it for the record. My position is this, Mr. Chairman. I do not like, and I hope Mr. Nixon did not really intend to convey what seemed to be implied in "come clean." That is an offensive comment. I have issued my statement and tried to make very clear my complete break.

Mr. WOOD. We have heard all that, Mr. Pressman.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I said this morning, Mr. Chairman, when I was asked who were the other three members of the group with whom I was identified, I said, Mr. Chairman, since that question was asked, I believe, by counsel first, if the committee will direct me to answer that question, than I have my problem.

Mr. WOOD. The committee cannot direct you to do anything. All we can do is ask you. One member of the committee has asked you.

Mr. PRESSMAN. And I am asking if I am directed to answer it.

Mr. WOOD. The committee does not direct anybody.

Mr. PRESSMAN. In the past you certainly have.

Mr. WOOD. We ask, but we don't direct.

Mr. PRESSMAN. There is a problem for both of us in this issue. Mr. Nixon has expressed himself on the problem and I have expressed myself. Are you directing that I answer the question?

Mr. WOOD. You have been asked the question by a member of the committee.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Is it the direction of the chairman that I answer?

Mr. WOOD. I don't direct anybody to answer.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I say to Mr. Nixon for the reasons I indicated this morning that I add nothing to the information available to the committee, so there is no issue of the security of my country. I stated the

individuals were in the Department of Agriculture with me and were named. I add nothing to the information already available to the committee. It is offensive to me to name individuals with whom I have in the past associated.

Mr. WOOD. We could have saved an hour's time if you had answered or announced you declined to answer, which is your prerogative.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am not declining. I am awaiting a direction from the committee.

Mr. WOOD. One member of the committee has asked the question. At no time has the committee ever directed anybody to answer a question since I have been on the committee.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Maybe I am wrong. This is a question for the committee. I want to know whether I am directed to answer, because I do not want to be in a position of declining to answer a question. On this issue I am asking the committee, is the committee directing me to answer that question?

(Hon. Burr P. Harrison entered hearing room.)

Mr. WOOD. The committee does not direct you to answer anything.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I refuse to decline to answer. I am not being jocular.

Mr. WOOD. Suppose you answer it, then.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Is that a direction from the chairman?

Mr. WOOD. It is a suggestion. A person can't decline and acquiesce at the same time.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I find myself in a very peculiar position, because it has been my experience, in terms of understanding a committee's work, that when an individual or a witness is asked a question and the witness indicates there is a problem in connection with the question, he is entitled to ask the committee if he is directed to answer the question, and, please, I ask if I am directed.

Mr. WOOD. It would be a strange anomaly if a member of the committee asked a question and did not want an answer to it.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't know what the reluctance of the committee is to tell me yes or no whether it is directing me to answer.

Mr. WOOD. There is no reluctance, Mr. Pressman. It is not in the province of the committee to direct you to answer.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I say I do not want to be in a position of declining to answer a question.

Mr. WOOD. Suppose you go ahead and answer it, if you do not decline to answer it.

Mr. HARRISON. What is the question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WOOD. Read the question.

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. PRESSMAN. If this will satisfy Mr. Nixon, the only three people I have knowledge of as members of the Communist Party were the three members with me in the group, who were with me in the Department of Agriculture at the time. The three who have been named along with me in that group were the only three in the Department of Agriculture with me at the same time I was.

Mr. NIXON. Those are the three you mean?

Mr. PRESSMAN. We are getting back to the same problem, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. You don't want to name the three people?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't believe that either you or I at this moment are serving any useful purpose. Let us proceed. If there is other information about which I have any knowledge that I can furnish that might be helpful, let us proceed.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Pressman, please don't lecture the committee. What is your attitude about answering this question?

Mr. NIXON. It is extremely important to the inquiry to know whether the three persons I have named are the three persons you referred to.

Mr. HARRISON. He said that this morning.

Mr. NIXON. No.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Whatever I said this morning is in the record.

Mr. NIXON. I ask you again if you will repeat what you said this morning?

Mr. PRESSMAN. If I could see the record I would tell you.

Mr. NIXON. Did you say this morning that John Abt, Nathan Witt, and Charles Kramer were the only ones in the Department of Agriculture at the time you were who were members of the Communist Party at the time you were?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I will put it this way: Do I understand that you are insisting, in spite of the point I made this morning, that I answer that question?

Mr. NIXON. I am insisting.

Mr. PRESSMAN. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. NIXON. That is fine.

In regard to Henry Collins, I understood you to say this morning he was not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. To my knowledge. I have no knowledge either way.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever been in his home with the three other individuals you named?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have been in his home.

Mr. NIXON. The occasions you were in his home were not meetings of the Communist Party itself?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I will be very precise. I said this morning that our meetings were held in our respective homes and other places from time to time.

Mr. NIXON. Were any of the meetings held at the home of Henry Collins?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not recall. I cannot say yes or no. I have searched my memory in the face of the testimony of other witnesses, and I cannot state as a fact whether they were or not.

Mr. NIXON. If Henry Collins was not a member of the Communist Party, would he have been at a meeting of this group, and would the meeting have been at his home?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Let us divide your question. It is quite possible a meeting might have been held at the home of someone not a member of the group, but I know Henry Collins was not present at a meeting during my participation in that group. Do I make myself clear, or shall I repeat?

Mr. NIXON. You need not. I will read the record.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I wanted to make it clear.

Mr. NIXON. I think it is clear. You are saying a meeting of the group might have been held at the home of Henry Collins?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not know. I do know we met at homes of individuals who were not members of the group and members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. How would you hold those meetings?

Mr. PRESSMAN. As a friend of any member of the group, the home would be made available.

Mr. NIXON. And that person was not present?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Therefore, you are leaving the possibility that a meeting might have been held at the home of Henry Collins?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Could have been. I just don't remember.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall that you ever attended such a meeting at the home of Henry Collins?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct. I don't remember.

Mr. NIXON. You know Victor Perlo?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not know. I do know he was not a member of my group during the time I participated in it.

Mr. NIXON. And you know nothing about his activities since that time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have no facts on which to base any knowledge.

Mr. NIXON. You testified this morning that you didn't know whether or not your law partner was a member of the party. Victor Perlo was not in as close a contact with you as that, was he?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't get your question.

Mr. NIXON. I understand you to testify this morning that you didn't know whether your law partner had left the party or not.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is different. That is correct. You just changed the question.

Mr. NIXON. As far as Perlo is concerned, you have no knowledge either way?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. What about Donald Hiss?

Mr. PRESSMAN. He was not a member of my group. I have absolutely no information as to his political affiliation.

Mr. NIXON. George Silverman?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have no information regarding his political affiliation. He was not a member of my group.

Mr. NIXON. Did you know him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I met him socially.

Mr. NIXON. At the home of Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. PRESSMAN. It might well have been. He was friendly with Mr. Silvermaster.

Mr. NIXON. As were you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You have no information as to George Silverman's connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Not to my recollection.

Mr. NIXON. I believe you testified this morning you were acquainted with Harry Bridges in connection with your capacity as attorney for the CIO?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. And that you knew him socially?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I imagine I did.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting at his home?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. The testimony given by his wife to that effect is incorrect?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely. As I recall, she called me "Dr. Pressman," and I have neither a Ph. D. nor an M. D. degree; and I was in Washington.

Mr. NIXON. Is Mr. Bridges a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have absolutely no knowledge in that respect.

Mr. NIXON. You don't know?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely not.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Witt was secretary of the National Labor Relations Board, was he not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe so.

Mr. NIXON. At the time you were general counsel of the CIO?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Did it ever occur to you, in dealing with Mr. Witt, that if he was still a member of the Communist Party he would be holding his office, in effect, illegally?

Mr. PRESSMAN. What was that?

Mr. NIXON. That he would be holding his office illegally? Is that correct?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't know whether it would be correct or not at that time, as to what the requirements were for Federal employment.

Mr. NIXON. There was the requirement that no employee of the Government could belong to an organization that advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't know if that statute was in effect at that time.

Mr. NIXON. You made no effort to determine whether he was a member of the Communist Party at the time he was with the National Labor Relations Board?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You had no reason to believe he had left the party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. I think this morning you testified concerning some portion of the testimony of Whittaker Chambers. Do you know Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am very glad you asked that question, Mr. Nixon, because I would like to answer that very much. I have absolutely no recollection—and I have searched my memory to the best of my ability—of having met Whittaker Chambers in Washington in connection with my participation with the group. I have searched the record to find out whether or not Mr. Whittaker Chambers states anywhere that he met me in connection with that group, and I have not found any such reference. I did find a reference in the record that Mr. Whittaker Chambers—a man of apparently profound knowledge who could remember in detail occurrences of many years ago—put me in Washington in the Federal Government in 1936 when I was, as a matter of record in New York City. I do have a recollection of one instance which involves a meeting with Whittaker Chambers, and it is this: If I speak heatedly, Mr. Nixon, it is not in connection with responding to your question.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Pressman, you need not apologize. Just go ahead.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Sometime in 1936 two gentlemen appeared in my private law office in New York City. One of them I have recognized since, by virtue of pictures that have appeared in the public print, as Whittaker Chambers. He did not appear at that time by that name and, for the life of me, I have been trying to find out what was the name he appeared by, and I can't remember, nor can I find any record.

He came in with another individual. Whittaker Chambers, by whatever name he appeared at that time, stated that he knew of me through mutual friends, without identifying them, and was bringing to me this second person as a potential client.

Mr. NIXON. You had no difficulty recognizing Mr. Chambers from his picture?

Mr. PRESSMAN. He looked quite different from when I saw him, but I recognized him.

Mr. NIXON. You did not have to see his teeth?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Is that necessary, Mr. Nixon, with me as a witness?

Mr. NIXON. Go ahead.

Mr. PRESSMAN. The second individual, this person who wanted to be my client, showed me credentials that he was a representative of the Spanish Republican Government—this was in 1936—who wanted to go to Mexico to purchase materials for the Spanish Republican Government. The request was whether I would accompany such individual, as an attorney, to Mexico in that endeavor. I said I would go as an attorney with him to Mexico to see what could be done. I went, not with Whittaker Chambers but with this other individual, to Mexico as his attorney. Our expedition, by the way, was unsuccessful, and we returned. I have not seen Whittaker Chambers since the day that he appeared in my office at that time.

Mr. NIXON. How long was he in your office?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Maybe a half hour or an hour.

Mr. NIXON. That is the only time in your life you ever saw him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You had no difficulty recognizing him from his picture?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I recognized him from the pictures. Whether I had difficulty, I don't know.

Mr. NIXON. You are sure it is the same man?

Mr. PRESSMAN. As sure as I can be in these days.

Mr. NIXON. Who was the other individual?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Eckhart.

Mr. NIXON. What is his first name?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe his initial was J.

Mr. NIXON. Have you seen him since?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No; or maybe one time.

Mr. NIXON. Have you heard from him since?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. What did you call Mr. Chambers?

Mr. PRESSMAN. When he was in my office? I can't remember what name he gave when he came. The reason I recall Mr. Eckhart, he appears in my records as a client.

Mr. NIXON. At the time Mr. Whittaker Chambers came in your office with Mr. Eckhart, you made a notation of him as a client?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Your secretary made no notation of who appeared with Mr. Eckhart?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. What was your fee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Is that necessary?

Mr. HARRISON. You were paid a fee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. I thought it might serve to refresh your recollection.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Refresh your recollection? It was a reasonable fee.

Mr. NIXON. Who paid the fee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Eckhart.

Mr. NIXON. When did you learn Mr. Whittaker Chambers was the man who brought him to your office?

Mr. PRESSMAN. When his picture started appearing in the public press.

Mr. NIXON. Did you take that information to public authorities?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Which one?

Mr. NIXON. Any one.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Somebody appeared from the FBI in 1948.

Mr. NIXON. What did you tell them?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The same answer I gave this committee at that time.

Mr. NIXON. Refused to answer the question?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Has the FBI questioned you since August 10 of this year?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Nixon, I said this morning that the answer was no. I am of the opinion, if I may say—

Mr. NIXON. Let me ask you another question, and then you may express your opinion.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Surely.

Mr. NIXON. Has anybody attempted to determine whether you would give information to the FBI before you appeared before this committee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have had a lot of inquiries from newspaper reporters.

Mr. NIXON. Only newspaper reporters?

Mr. PRESSMAN. To date.

Mr. NIXON. No official or unofficial inquiry from the FBI?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do think that is an avenue or arena which could best be left with the FBI.

Mr. NIXON. I am asking you.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is my answer.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you don't want to answer the question?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My position has been that after issuing my statement I was not going to say anything to anybody until I had appeared before this committee, since you had subpoenaed me.

Mr. NIXON. Your position has been you would not appear before the FBI until you had appeared before this committee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct. This was my appearance that was called for by the subpoena.

Mr. NIXON. As I understand your testimony, this was a complete ideological and organizational break that you made on August 10, but as far as information is concerned, you are limiting the giving of information to the extent that this committee questions you about?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is not what I said. I said after I issued my public statement I read in the public press that a member of this committee had announced that I was going to be subpoenaed, and following that announcement I made up my mind I would make no public statement to anybody until after I had appeared before this committee.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall discussing with Mr. Chambers, the man who came into your office, on this occasion or previous to that time, your contemplated plans to go with the CIO?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely not.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall an occasion when Mr. Chambers visited you in your apartment across from the Zoo on Connecticut Avenue?

Mr. PRESSMAN. He was never in my apartment in the city of Washington, and he couldn't tell the color of my furniture, either.

Mr. NIXON. It is very possible that he might not, because Mr. Chambers might have been there in the summertime.

Mr. PRESSMAN. At that time I only had one set of furniture, summer or winter.

Mr. NIXON. And the furniture is usually covered when you go away in the summer?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Not on the salary I was making at that time. I have absolutely no recollection of ever having met this man known as Chambers up until the day he walked in my office in New York City.

Mr. NIXON. On this occasion I speak of, which was in the summer, your wife and family were out of the city.

Mr. PRESSMAN. What year was this?

Mr. NIXON. In the year that you took your position with the CIO.

Mr. PRESSMAN. In Washington or New York?

Mr. NIXON. I am talking about Washington.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That shows how Whittaker Chambers is incorrect if he made that statement. I was not in Washington at that time.

Mr. NIXON. I recognize that. I said at a time when you were considering leaving the Government service, prior to your taking your position with the CIO.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am glad you put the question that way, because here are the facts: This indicates how, if Whittaker Chambers made any such assertion, he is lying, because when I left Washington to go back into private practice, the CIO was not even organized. It was not until the convention of the AFL in 1935, when the AFL kicked out those six or seven unions and Mr. Lewis happened to punch Mr. Hutchinson in the nose, thereafter Mr. Lewis and six other men met and formed the CIO; and it wasn't until months later that Mr. Lewis asked me if I would go to Pittsburgh to be counsel for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

Mr. NIXON. And you deny any meeting with Whittaker Chambers in your home in 1935?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely.

Mr. NIXON. You deny meeting Whittaker Chambers during the period you were living in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have absolutely no recollection, and I have canvassed my recollection to the best of my ability.

Mr. NIXON. You never met him in the company of J. Peters?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You never met him in the home of Henry Collins?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct. While I was in that group, Mr. Chambers did not appear before that group.

Mr. NIXON. Going back to this incident in your office, can you give us the date of that incident?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Sometime the middle of 1936.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have a notation to that effect in your file?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. I do not have the files.

Mr. NIXON. Where are the files?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The partnership I was with was dissolved years ago.

Mr. NIXON. And you have no files at all?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct. The reason I can place it in 1936, I know when I returned from my trip to Mexico coincided with an incident in Wheeling, Ohio, when two men were shot, and I believe killed, by some strikebreakers—Did I say Wheeling, Ohio? I mean Portsmouth, Ohio. I had to go to Portsmouth, and I date it from that time. It was sometime in 1936.

Mr. NIXON. The early part?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. It was after June. It was between June and the fall.

Mr. NIXON. The Spanish civil war didn't break out until the summer of 1936, so that would date it, wouldn't it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Is that when it started? I say between June and the fall of 1936.

Mr. NIXON. And the purpose of this trip was to obtain arms for the Spanish Republican Government?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. What else did Whittaker Chambers say?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Nothing other than the introduction.

Mr. NIXON. He introduced himself to you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Only as knowing me through mutual friends; that mutual friends said I was practicing law in New York. And at that time, having only been in business a few months, I wasn't making too many inquiries. I wanted a client if it was a good client.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Dr. Philip Rosenbleitt?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely not. I do not know the name or know the man. I saw the name in the press. Pegler mentioned him.

Mr. NIXON. Have you heard of his returning to the United States?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. Not knowing him in the first place, I wouldn't know anything about his return.

Mr. NIXON. I thought you said you had read about it in the press.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have read in a Pegler story something about Chambers saying I had something to do with some dentist.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Colonel Ivan Lamb?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely not.

Mr. NIXON. You never heard of him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. What is his last name, again?

Mr. NIXON. Lamb, as mutton.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't know him.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't meet him in New York City in 1936?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I never met the man.

Mr. NIXON. You never met him in company with Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever used the name "Cole Phillips"?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. You never used it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. When you were in the party did you use any name other than your own?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. Did any other member of your group?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't believe so. We used our own names during the period I was there.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever gotten a Government position for Charles Kramer, or assisted in getting him a Government position?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My understanding is he was a friend of Nathan Witt. I don't recall getting him a position.

Mr. NIXON. After that time did you ever recommend him for a position?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Not that I recall. I never had occasion to recommend people for jobs in the Federal Government. I can't deny if, over the past 15 years, somebody called me about an individual, I might have said something, but I have no recollection of helping him or anybody else get a job in the Federal Government.

Mr. NIXON. When you went to Mexico, did you go by plane?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is right. My name is on the roster of the airline company, and so is Mr. Eckhart's. There is nothing secret about that.

I would like to comment on that, because several years later—and this is indicative of the kind of misstatements of fact that have been made about me—years later some columnist prints a story that my trip to Mexico was connected with some oil deal down in Mexico. That columnist got that story from an individual around Washington whose name I do not care to mention at this time who is a drunken paranoiac who has on his mind Lee Pressman. That columnist did not inquire of me about the facts. After the column appeared, I called the columnist and asked, "For God's sake, how can you say I was connected with an oil deal?" I gave him the facts. "Oh," he said, "you were down there laying the groundwork for an affair 2 or 3 years later." Go ahead and meet that kind of individual.

Mr. NIXON. That individual is not Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No; but I wonder if that columnist is here now. I was hoping he was.

Mr. NIXON. You don't mean the columnist?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. You don't know any columnist who is a drunken paranoiac?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Are you asking that as a question?

Mr. NIXON. That is all at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Pressman, in connection with my questioning of you in the earlier part of your testimony, in response to a question that I asked you, you stated that your break with the Communist Party in 1935 was not a complete break, and that the complete break came upon the announcement that you made here a few weeks ago, a public announcement. Then you stated, in response to a further inquiry, that in that interim, between 1935 and the time your break with the party became complete, you had had occasion to confer with

leaders of the Communist Party, and we were talking about that at the time other questions were asked about other matters. I would like for you to go back to that. Who were those leaders in the Communist Party with whom you conferred between 1935 and the time you made the complete break?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Roy Hudson, who I believe was national labor secretary of the Communist Party; Gene Dennis, then legislative representative of the Communist Party. To the best of my recollection, those are the two individuals that stand out in my memory.

Mr. TAVENNER. There were others; were there not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Possibly. Those are the ones I met from time to time.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the purpose of those meetings was to discuss matters in which the Communist Party was interested?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Matters in which they were interested; that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you knew them to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you think you could recall the names of any others with whom you conferred in like manner?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I just said that I didn't recall offhand.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Harold Cammer?

Mr. PRESSMAN. He was my law partner from February 1948 until November 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the control board, now called the review board, of the disciplinary section of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I haven't the slightest idea. My association with him was confined entirely to the practice of the law.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Simon Gerson?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend the 1948 convention of the Progressive Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. And at that convention did you confer with Simon Gerson relating to Communist Party matters?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe he attended as a newspaperman and I saw him in the city of Philadelphia at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't he what is commonly referred to in the Communist Party as a "rep" or representative of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. As I understood, he was there as an accredited newspaperman, and I saw him there once or twice.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer with him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Not in respect to the resolutions or activities I was engaged in at that convention.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you conferred with him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I met him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer with him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't want to quibble. I saw him and met him, and the chances are he talked to me about things going on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Going on in the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No; in the Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what the Communist Party wanted in connection with the platform of the Progressive Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I imagine in passing he probably so stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have drawn a distinction between being an organizational member of the Communist Party and an ideological member.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I drew no such distinction. You are doing it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You drew it when you said you were no longer an organizational member after 1935.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe the record shows after 1935 I was never a member of the Communist Party. I stated since that time I have met with members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. We are anxious to know what your relationship was with the Communist Party after 1935 and prior to your complete break.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I met with the leaders of the Communist Party and dealt with them. I would discuss their problems. However, at no time did I ever accept directions or instructions from these representatives of the Communist Party, because I felt at that time, even while I was having relations with the Communist Party, that my direct and immediate and sole allegiance was to the CIO and the officials and elected officers and members of the CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. During this same period of time, did you have any official connection of any kind with the Communist Party, though you may not have been an actual member of it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No; no official connection whatsoever.

Mr. TAVENNER. During this period of time from 1935 until your complete break with the party, were you a member of various front organizations of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. If you would indicate to me what organizations you mean, I might be able to state. I think it would be easier to answer it that way.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you about a few, and then will ask if you were a member of any others; so, if you will keep that in mind, please.

Were you a member of the board of directors of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think I was, and I resigned a few months ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were a member of that organization from approximately what date?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was cited as a Communist-front organization by Attorney General Tom Clark on April 25, 1949. Will you tell us the extent to which the Communist Party controlled that organization?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I haven't the slightest idea. I don't think I attended a single meeting of that organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you associated with the International Juridical Association?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes; I was, back in 1932 or 1931, I believe. It was a journal that was reporting or making analyses of decisions affecting labor or civil rights, and I participated in that work.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were a member of the national committee of that organization as late as April 1942; were you not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I lost track of it when I left New York City in 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on March 29, 1944.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I must confess, Mr. Counsel, that would not terribly impress me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Carol Weiss King, its secretary?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I know her as a lawyer in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. And do you know her as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do not. I have no knowledge whatsoever regarding her political affiliations.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other activities did you engage in, in connection with the Communist Party, from 1935, when your break with it began?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Counsel, this may amaze you, and I am now addressing myself to the point made by Mr. Nixon, which disturbs me greatly—

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Pressman, please answer the question.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am answering it.

Mr. WOOD. You are going outside the scope of the question. For example, your statement that the actions of this committee did not impress you; I might say you do not particularly impress this committee, either.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That was not this committee. This committee was organized January 1949. That committee he was talking about—

Mr. WOOD. You mean the present membership of this committee.

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. It was a special committee.

Mr. WOOD. This committee was made a permanent organization of Congress in 1945.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Correct.

Mr. WOOD. I simply called it to your attention to show you are going outside the scope of the question.

Mr. NIXON. I know from what you have said that it is your desire to present to the committee your position and to make it clear?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. I know you would not want any implication of quibbling?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely.

Mr. NIXON. I think the last distinction made is typical of so many things you have done today, your distinction between the Special Committee on Un-American Activities and this committee because it was in one Congress rather than another.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That was not my point. My point is that that committee at that time listed organizations which had not the slightest connection with the Communist Party, which is well known.

Counsel asked me what other activities I had in connection with the Communist Party, other than I have already mentioned between 1935 to date. My activities were: (1) I was either a member or on the board of directors of some of these organizations that have been put on the Attorney General's list, from all of which I have resigned; (2) I met with and dealt with leaders of the Communist Party. I had no other connection or relationship with the Communist Party than those two points.

Mr. NIXON. Are you going to develop that point?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

It is a fact—is it not?—that the matter of education of recruits in the Communist Party was a very important function of the Communist Party cells or branches? That is a fact; is it not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I guess so; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And in order to find a tool that would accomplish their purpose, they established Communist Party schools, of which the Abraham Lincoln School for Democracy was one and the School for Democracy was another. Didn't you take an active part in some of that school work?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely not. I had absolutely nothing to do with it. One such school up in New York City, for one year, had listed me as giving a course there, and that was done without my consent. I never attended, never delivered any lecture or conducted any course, and had nothing to do with any of those schools throughout that period.

Mr. TAVENNER. You never gave any lectures?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Though you say you were listed?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was listed once as a proposed lecturer. That was without my consent. I called their attention to it.

Mr. TAVENNER. With whom did you get in touch in that connection?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe I addressed myself to the director. I don't believe I knew the name of the director.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were also a member of the Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't recall, but I might well have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were a member of the Legislative Conference of the Civil Rights Congress held in 1949; were you not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I wouldn't deny or affirm it. I don't remember. If you state it is a matter of record, then it is clear.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were associated with the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, which has been cited as a Communist front; were you not?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I may have been. I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean you were associated with so many of these cited organizations that you don't remember the names of them?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I wouldn't say so many, but I may have been and don't deny it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you join the Washington Book Shop while you were in Washington?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct. I was a member of the Washington Book Shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you one of the sponsors of the Win-the-Peace Conference in Washington, D. C., in April 1946?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't believe so. I believe I attended a meeting at which I introduced as a speaker Senator Claude Pepper. That is my recollection. I don't recall that I was a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. While we are looking that up, I refer again to the School for Democracy, a catalog of which I have before me for 1942, in which appears this statement:

PRESSMAN, LEE. Guest lecturer, labor problems and the law. 50. [Which meant points of credit for the course.] General Counsel for the CIO.

Is that the matter which you say was unauthorized?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. On the letterhead of Win-the-Peace Conference, over the signature of Robert T. Leichster, executive secretary, dated February 28, 1946, there appears a list of sponsors, including your name.

Mr. PRESSMAN. If my name is included, then I was a sponsor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Film Audiences for Democracy, which has been cited?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Gosh, I don't remember. I don't know what that organization did.

Mr. TAVENNER. There appear in a pamphlet entitled "Film Survey," June 1939, on the back page thereof, the names of the executive committee and the names of those who are members of the advisory board. Under the names of those who were members of the advisory board appears the name of Lee Pressman. Do you admit that you were on that advisory board?

Mr. PRESSMAN. If my name is there, I probably was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which has also been cited as a Communist front.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Was that organization cited? By whom?

Mr. TAVENNER. By the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1949.

Were you associated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think I was. I might add I was a member of the executive board of the Civil Rights Congress, from which I resigned about a year ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited by Attorney General Tom Clark December 4, 1947, and again September 21, 1948.

Did you state that you were a member of the Civil Rights Congress and that you resigned?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is right. I resigned, I believe, in November of last year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't remember, Mr. Counsel, really I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of any of those organizations at this time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The answer is absolutely no.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you sever your connections or associations with those organizations?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Most of those you have enumerated went out of existence years ago. The only ones I recall which were in existence

recently were the Civil Rights Congress, from which I resigned about a year ago, and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, from which I resigned years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reference has been made to your appearance before this committee in 1948, and also the appearance of John Abt and Nathan Witt on the same day you appeared, and the refusal of all of you to answer questions relating to your knowledge of Communist activities at that time.

During the course of this investigation which the committee has been conducting the past several years, it has come to its attention on a number of occasions that witnesses who were subpoenaed here to testify regarding such matters had been directed and informed by the leadership of the Communist Party to refuse to answer questions and to claim the benefit of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Do you know of any such instructions?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have absolutely no information about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. There have been witnesses, for instance Mr. Cvetic, who testified here, testified that that instruction came down through party channels.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have absolutely no information on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you refuse to answer questions when you appeared before this committee in 1948?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For reasons I thought best at that time, which I explained this morning.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were those reasons?

Mr. PRESSMAN. It would take some time to repeat what I said this morning. Do you desire them repeated, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. Yes. I think it would be well to differentiate between your refusal to testify before this committee and your refusal to give information to the FBI. You said the reason you refused to give information to the committee was because you didn't like the committee.

Mr. PRESSMAN. You misunderstood me. In 1948 my severance was not accomplished, and because of my viewpoint at that time I refused to answer the questions propounded. Today my viewpoint is absolutely different, and that is why I issued my public statement, and that is why I am before this committee answering, to the best of my ability, the questions propounded to me.

Mr. NIXON. You mean by that, your complete severance, ideologically speaking, did not occur until sometime between the 26th of June and the 10th of August?

Mr. PRESSMAN. 26th of June? No. I told you I have been mulling over this for over a year.

Mr. NIXON. I said complete severance.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Don't put me in a position of appearing to quibble. It is a kind of issue in which you don't say as of 6 p. m. I made a decision. I have been discussing this problem with close friends over a period of weeks. It is not an easy decision to make. And when I issued my public statement that was a clear-cut public pronouncement with regard to my position.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, in 1948 you had not severed your connections, ideologically speaking, with the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And therefore your action up to that time was governed by your Communist Party views and beliefs that existed then?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I would say affected rather than governed.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you are telling this committee now that you have broken your association with all Communist-front organizations?

Mr. PRESSMAN. From the depths of my deep convictions I hope I can convey that thought to the members of this committee and, through this committee and the public press, to the public at large.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you would not knowingly reunite with organizations of that character?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you have the same viewpoint regarding the Communist Party itself?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to inquire a little bit further about your activities until the time your break with the party became complete. Prior to your complete break with the party in the last few weeks, has there ever been a time when you have criticized the Russian Government or its policies, up until that time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. You mean public statements?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Whenever you made a public statement in relation to Russia, it was in sympathy with the Soviet Union?

Mr. PRESSMAN. It probably was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has there been a time within the last few years when, in speaking of the foreign policy of the United States, you have agreed with it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Oh, yes. I stated on occasion this morning when I agreed.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The lend-lease program in 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was after the Communist Party line had changed?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. HARRISON. Didn't you say you went along with it but didn't agree with it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. That was in connection with the resolution condemning communism. I said in connection with lend-lease I was in wholehearted agreement.

Mr. TAVENNER. With that one exception, did you ever publicly agree with the foreign policy of the United States before that time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My God, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I can't recall at the moment. Look through my public records.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am speaking now, in matters in which the Soviet Union was involved. Didn't you always take a position favorable to the Soviet Union up to this time?

Mr. PRESSMAN. When you put the issue in such extreme terms—

Mr. TAVENNER. If that is too extreme, answer the question in your own way.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think it is. When this Korean issue arose, it arose in a manner which, combined with the other problems that had

been developing in my mind in connection with my relationship with the Communist Party and its viewpoint, made it clear to me that on that issue I felt that the Soviet Union, after the United Nations had acted, was obligated to take measures, which apparently it did not, to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did the conflict come within the Communist Party on that position? Who disagreed with that position?

Mr. PRESSMAN. They issued public statements.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you took it up with someone and disagreed?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did not. I did not discuss it with members of the Communist Party. I have had my problems developing for over a year now, and this particular issue, the Korean issue, brought the issue to a head for me. It made clear to me that I had to make the decision which I made? I am far more interested in what my viewpoint will be from here on out than I am in the opinions I have expressed in the past, and I hope it is of greater interest to the committee and the public what my viewpoint will be in the future than what it has been in the past.

I have stated I was a member from 1934 to 1935, and have had dealings with the Communist Party in the past. Of what earthly use is it for me to go into the past. The thing that is important is what is my viewpoint today. I hope I have conveyed the sincerity of my conviction.

Mr. TAVENNER. How would you test the sincerity of an individual without examining his acts?

Mr. PRESSMAN. As to the future?

Mr. TAVENNER. As to the present.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have stated my position. It remains to be seen.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are not here as a voluntary witness. You were subpoenaed here?

Mr. PRESSMAN. You know darn well you subpoenaed me.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you made it appear you were here as a voluntary witness.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was subpoenaed, but I issued my public statement before there was any subpoena.

Mr. TAVENNER. Certainly.

There is another individual I would like to ask you about that I omitted. Are you acquainted with Lem Harris, the agricultural expert of the Communist Party? A question was asked you about him this morning.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Lem Harris? I have never met the man.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have never met him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you think you may have met him on Ohio Street in Chicago?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Ohio Street in Chicago?

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been on Ohio Street in Chicago and conferred with anybody with regard to the agricultural phase of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am sure I did not meet with any Communist in Chicago in regard to agricultural activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had, since 1935 until your break with the party was complete, any connection or negotiations with Amtorg Trading Corp.

Mr. PRESSMAN. About 6 or 8 months ago I was requested to look over a matter in an official, legal capacity, a legal matter, a contemplated lawsuit. That was the beginning and the end.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever done any work for the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Mr. Novokov?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I do.

Mr. NIXON. In what connection did you know him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I met him once or twice socially, and I have also been requested, and for a period of 3 or 4 months I have done, estate work. In cases of individuals who die in this country leaving bequests to foreign countries, including Russia, I have represented the persons in the foreign country in this country. For a period of a few months I represented those individuals in estate matters, but about 3 months ago I disconnected myself completely from this work. In that connection I met Mr. Novokov.

Mr. NIXON. It was Mr. Novokov who brought those cases to you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. In that connection I met Mr. Novokov,

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Abraham Pomerantz?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. He was attorney for Judy Coplon and Mr. Gubichev?

Mr. PRESSMAN. He was attorney for Gubichev.

Mr. NIXON. In what connection have you known him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have known him 20 years as an attorney. When we first met we were fellow counselors in a boys' camp.

Mr. NIXON. Were you consulted in connection with that case?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Pomerantz asked me to consult with him, and I drafted some recommendations of law.

Mr. NIXON. Did you have anything to do with the selection of Mr. Pomerantz?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. That was done by Gubichev.

Mr. NIXON. Were you asked by Novokov or anybody else about Mr. Pomerantz's qualifications?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. I was asked by Mr. Novokov if there were names of attorneys in New York who might be useful. He mentioned several names, one of which was Mr. Pomerantz, and I said I knew Mr. Pomerantz.

Mr. NIXON. He asked your opinion of several attorneys?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Pressman, did you make a trip abroad in 1945?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Through what countries did you travel?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was a member of a delegation from the CIO that went to the city of Paris, I believe, to set up the World Federation of Trade Unions. The delegation consisted of all the vice presidents of the CIO and myself. After that task was completed we traveled by air to Berlin, from Berlin to Moscow, from Moscow to Leningrad, from Leningrad to Berlin, back to Paris, then to the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the occasion for that trip to Russia?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The Russian Trade Union extended an invitation to Philip Carey, and Philip Carey accepted the invitation and led our delegation to the Soviet Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge of the selection of groups of individuals from labor to travel to Russia where the transportation was furnished by World Tourists, Inc.?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I haven't any information with respect to that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this trip in 1945 your only trip to the Soviet Union?

Mr. PRESSMAN. The only trip I have made abroad except for my trip to Mexico. By the way, I did make a trip to Bermuda on my honeymoon.

Mr. TAVENNER. We are not asking about that.

Mr. NIXON. In regard to that trip to Mexico, do you know a man by the name of Mark Moran?

Mr. PRESSMAN. What is that name?

Mr. NIXON. Mark Moran, or Gerald Mark Moran?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No; absolutely not.

Mr. NIXON. In that connection, I think it might be well at this point to put in the record here the version of the meeting—I assume it was the one Mr. Pressman referred to—that Mr. Chambers gave in December 1948. There are differences of names and places. I might point out, however, in that connection, before I read this, that it does not involve espionage.

Mr. PRESSMAN. May I ask the date of that incident Chambers describes?

Mr. NIXON. It will appear as I read it.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I want to call attention to another incident where in 1936 he put me in Washington.

Mr. NIXON (reading):

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever hear of a man named Gerald Mark Moran?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. I heard of him under the name of Mark Moran. I assume that is the same name. Shall I tell you about the circumstances under which I heard of him?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Dr. Rosenbleitt had gone to Russia sometime in 1935, I imagine, and he reappeared in New York sometime in 1937 or 1938 and made contact with me and told me that he had come on a special mission, that Stalin had recently had a close look at the munitions industry in Russia and had discovered to his horror that there was no automatic shell-loading machinery, that shells were still being loaded by hand by women, and he wanted to buy shell-loading machinery in the United States, but he didn't want to buy them at the going price, and he wanted all kinds of blueprints and specifications thrown in.

Dr. Rosenbleitt asked me to give him for this work and other work the smartest Communist lawyer whom I knew and also a man who would have access in the course of his normal business to patents of all kinds.

Well, I started thinking about the problem and the man who had both those qualifications turned out to be the general counsel of the CIO, Mr. Lee Pressman. He was a very smart lawyer, and he was doing some kind of special work for the Rust Bros., who had invented the cotton picker, and who was dealing with other patents.

So, I introduced Dr. Rosenbleitt to Lee Pressman at Sachers Restaurant in New York City, a restaurant on Madison Avenue between Forty-second and Forty-first Streets, which was much favored by Dr. Rosenbleitt. He then took Pressman away. I don't believe I saw Pressman again.

But either from Rosenbleitt or Peters or someone, I learned that Rosenbleitt had connected Pressman directly with Mark Moran, with whom he continued to work, and I was told made trips around this country on munitions-buying excursions, and also in Mexico. I was told by J. Peters specifically, I remember that, at one point their airplane was forced down on one side or the other of the border and that Moran was very much perturbed because he was afraid they would be watched and caught.

I think Mr. Pressman has already gone into this incident.

Mr. PRESSMAN. No, I haven't. I would like to comment. Will I be given that opportunity?

Mr. NIXON. Certainly. Your recollection of such an incident involved Mr. Eckhart?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My recollection is of no such incident.

Mr. NIXON. But your recollection of your meeting with Mr. Chambers involved Mr. Eckhart?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct, on this specific incident of accompanying Mr. Eckhart to Mexico, and that was between June and the fall of 1936. And my name and Mr. Eckhart's appear on the roster of the airline. If you would go to the airline instead of these other sources you could find the facts.

Mr. WALTER. What airline was it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe American Airline.

Mr. WALTER. Was your plane forced down?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. HARRISON. Until you gave that information we had no airline to check with.

Mr. PRESSMAN. We changed at Fort Worth. We took a chartered plane to Laredo, Pan American, to Mexico City, and direct from Mexico City to New York. That was between June and the fall of 1936.

Mr. NIXON. When did you last see J. Peters?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I really can't tell you. I know I met him once or twice.

Mr. NIXON. Have you seen him in the past 5 years?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I can't say.

Mr. NIXON. How well did you know J. Peters?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I did not know him.

Mr. NIXON. There were some occasions on which you saw him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes, after I left the group.

Mr. NIXON. You can't recall when you last saw him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. When did he leave the country?

Mr. NIXON. Can you describe Mr. Eckhart?

Mr. PRESSMAN. About as tall as myself or taller. At that time, in 1936, I was about 30 years of age. I would judge he was in his early fifties. Nothing distinctive in any way I could identify him by.

Mr. NIXON. Was he heavy or slight?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. Average weight.

Mr. NIXON. No speaking characteristics?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. You have never seen him since?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For a week or two after coming back there was a question of setting up a corporation in New York City to do the task.

Mr. NIXON. You have not heard of him since?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. Was he an American citizen?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't know. I never inquired. I went to Mexico with him, but there was no need for a passport. We got a visiting card from the Mexican Embassy to go to Mexico. I would have thought he was a Spaniard.

Mr. NIXON. Over how long a period did you know him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the period I have described, when he came in, a week or two before we left for Mexico, and a week or two after we returned. We were in Mexico only a few days.

Mr. NIXON. What did you call him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think Joe.

Mr. NIXON. You called him "Joe"?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall any meetings with J. Peters in the last 5 years?

Mr. PRESSMAN. When did he leave the country?

Mr. NIXON. J. Peters?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. I think 1948.

Mr. PRESSMAN. You see the difficulty I have been having about dates.

Mr. NIXON. I think Peters left in 1948.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think 2 or 3 years prior to that I may have seen him.

Mr. NIXON. Socially?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Never in a business connection?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. NIXON. Never in a business connection since the time you broke, organizationally speaking, with the party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Was Peters a Communist?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I assume he was.

Mr. NIXON. You want to be certain, don't you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. When he came to our group in the capacity he did, I took it for granted he was.

Mr. NIXON. You have never heard that he left the party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I never heard it.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. PRESSMAN. May I say, jocularly, just as I would never inquire of you if you had left the Republican Party, I didn't ask if he had left the Communist Party or was still in.

Mr. NIXON. I know that an expression frequently used in Communist circles is that there is no difference between an affiliation with the Communist Party, Republican Party, or Democratic Party. You recognize there is a difference, I assume?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I recognize the basic difference. On that issue, I recall back in the early days of the New Deal, on the occasion when I joined, to be a Democrat at that time and to participate in the New Deal program under President Roosevelt was akin to being a Communist in the minds of some people in this country.

Mr. HARRISON. You were both, though.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. In the light of your testimony today, it is very possible there were some who were Democrats and also members of the Communist Party.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't know.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Ware, who did the recruiting for the Communist Party, was a member of the Republican Party and President Hoover's adviser in the Agriculture Department.

Mr. PRESSMAN. He may have been.

Mr. NIXON. In 1935 you were general counsel to two of the most powerful agencies in Government?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was general counsel of two agencies of the Government. Whether they were powerful, I don't know.

Mr. NIXON. My point is this, that this line: "What is the difference? You don't ask if a person is a Democrat or a Republican, so why should you ask if he is a Communist?" I think there is a real difference. I think at the present time certainly an effort is being made in both political parties to be sure they have no connection with the Communist Party. That is a correct statement, is it not, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. Possibly.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned one transaction you had with Amtorg Trading Corp. Were there others?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Caroline Abrams, the wife of Len D. Cowe?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe she was employed by the Labor Non-Partisan League in Washington?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe she was many years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cowe was the editor, I believe, at one time, of the CIO News?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned earlier in your testimony that you had not recommended anyone, to your knowledge, for a position with the United States Government, except the one instance of, I believe, Nathan Witt?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you recommended anyone for a position in the United Nations?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you recommend anyone for a position with the Labor Non-Partisan League here in Washington?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't think so, but that is not a Government agency.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand, but I am asking the question.

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't think I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Russ Nixon?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you instrumental in securing his employment in the Labor Non-Partisan League?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No; I don't think so. I think he arranged that with Mr. John L. Lewis. I don't recall either way.

Mr. TAVENNER. You know Russ Nixon very well?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Oh, certainly.

Mr. TAVENNER. You would know if you aided him in getting that position?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No. I know him very well because he became Washington representative of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Union, and I had many relations with him. But going back to 1939 or 1940, when you ask if I recommended him to John Lewis, I doubt it. I think he had his own connections with Mr. Lewis or the Labor Non-Partisan League.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you had nothing to do with his coming to Washington in connection with the Labor Non-Partisan League?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. In that connection, you know Drew Pearson, I assume?

Mr. PRESSMAN. As well as you do.

Mr. NIXON. In one of his columns sometime ago he stated you had recommended Max Lowenthal for the position of executive secretary to the Labor Policy Committee of the War Production Board. Did you see that column?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No, but if he did, that is in his 16 percent of inaccuracy.

Mr. NIXON. Your answer is you did not recommend him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Absolutely not.

Mr. NIXON. Have you recommended him for any position?

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. Was he a member of the International Juridical Association?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I don't recall. That would be a matter of record.

Mr. NIXON. You know him?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. In business or socially?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Socially. He was counsel for some Senate legislative committee, and I think I may have had some business connections with him.

Mr. McSWEENEY. What do you mean by "social"? I get invited to lunch to talk business. Is that a social engagement?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Do people ever meet in your home to play Canasta? I consider that a social engagement.

Mr. McSWEENEY. There is nothing else you talk about, just of a social nature?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is right.

May I, with your permission, Mr. Nixon, go back to that record which you read, that perfectly fantastic story Mr. Chambers told? He has me down as an expert on patents. I have never handled a patent matter in my life. Second, he has me doing business with Rust Brothers on a machine. I don't know what that machine is. I remember in triple A some discussion of Rust Brothers inventing a machine that could allegedly pick cotton. That is the only knowledge I have of Rust Brothers or their machine. Third, he has me getting legal work through him in 1937 or 1938. During that period I was full time with the CIO and had no private practice at all.

I have already answered the question of the airplane. In 1937 and 1938 I wasn't flying on airplanes in connection with the Rust Brothers machine or patent work. Every day of my life is a matter of public record.

Mr. WOOD. You expressed earlier in your testimony this morning considerable abhorrence to the Nazi regime and its tactics. What distinction do you draw between Nazis and Communists as threats to the free democratic institutions of this country?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I think so far as Communist aggression is concerned—

Mr. WOOD. It is just as vicious as anything the Nazis ever did, isn't it?

Mr. PRESSMAN. It has a basic evil. I think there is a developing feeling in this country that all one has to do to appear as being in favor of the institutions of this country is to be anti-Communist. I think it is equally important, when you are being anti-Communist and want to be prodemocratic, to be anti-Nazi as well. I insist that it isn't sufficient for people to claim they are prodemocratic merely because they are anti-Communist. It is equally important we be against the Nazis to the same degree.

Mr. WOOD. In your opinion today, the two ideologies are about equally evil as far as the institutions of democracy are concerned?

Mr. PRESSMAN. My view is there are evils in communism and there are evils in nazism.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any greater evil in one than in the other?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am not weighing them. I am against both.

Mr. WOOD. We will have to adjourn until 10 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am finished, unless there are questions by members of the committee.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Harrison?

Mr. HARRISON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McSweeney?

Mr. McSWEENEY. I have been a teacher of history. Do you say it is wrong for us to delve into the past?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I said I thought it would be more useful to look to the present and future.

Mr. McSWEENEY. We say the past is prologue. A doctor goes into the past with his patients, and you do it when you take a new client, do you not, get something of the background? The committee has a right to tie in the past with the present.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct. I don't question the right.

Mr. Chairman, I would appreciate it if I could be completed today.

Mr. WOOD. Will you be available at some future time if you are needed?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. With that understanding, we will excuse you for the time being, unless you are recalled.

The committee will stand at recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 5:25 p. m. on Monday, August 28, 1950, a recess was taken until Tuesday, August 29, 1950, at 10 a. m.).

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 2

THURSDAY, AUGUST 31, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.
PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:50 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood, chairman, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, John McSweeney (arriving as indicated), Richard M. Nixon, and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell and Courtney Owens, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order.

Let the record disclose that for the purpose of this hearing the chairman has set up a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Walter, Nixon, Velde, and Wood, and that they are all present.

Does counsel desire to proceed at this point?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like, Mr. Chairman, to call Mr. Abraham George Silverman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Silverman, will you stand and be sworn, please? You solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes, I do.

TESTIMONY OF ABRAHAM GEORGE SILVERMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BERNARD JAFFE

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Abraham George Silverman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented here by counsel?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes, Mr. Bernard Jaffe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself, including his address, for the record?

Mr. JAFFE. Bernard Jaffe, 135 Broadway.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Silverman, you appear here this morning in pursuance of a subpoena served on you on August 29, I believe?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee when and where you were born?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I was born in Poland, 1906.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you arrive in the United States?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I think it was in 1906.

Mr. TAVENNER. We did not understand the date of your birth.

Mr. SILVERMAN. February 2, 1900. You did not ask the date of my birth.

Mr. TAVENNER. We asked when and where you were born.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I am sorry. I misunderstood you.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and by what means did you obtain United States citizenship?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I appeared before the appropriate court in Boston in 1921 when I attained the age of 21. I think there was some relaxation of the waiting period by reason of my honorable discharge from the United States Army during the First World War.

(Hon. John McSweeney entered the hearing room.)

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Silverman, will you speak a little louder, please?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes, I will try.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you presently employed?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I am not presently employed.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your employment since August of 1948?

Mr. JAFFE. Was that 1948 or 1940?

Mr. TAVENNER. 1948.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I worked for J. W. Field, a printing broker, from approximately June to October of 1949. Up to that time I had been unemployed for practically a year. Then I went to work for Murray W. Latimer, industrial relations counselor or adviser.

Mr. VELDE. What was that name?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Murray W. Latimer. He asked me to go to work for him in the field of pensions and social insurance as a specialist in that area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that private employment?

Mr. SILVERMAN. That was a private employer.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you cease working for Mr. Murray Latimer?

Mr. SILVERMAN. As of yesterday. On my own initiative I resigned, in order to keep from causing Mr. Latimer, my employer, any embarrassment and possible injury in connection with my appearance before this committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time of your appearance before the Committee on Un-American Activities on August 12, 1948, you gave your employment in the Federal Government as follows. I will read it and then ask you whether or not you desire to add anything to it or correct it:

Chief Statistician, Labor Advisory Board, NRA, fall of 1933 to middle of 1934;

Negotiator for the United States Tariff Commission, November 1935 through March 1936;

Director, Bureau of Research and Information Services, Railroad Retirement Board, 1936 to 1942;

Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Matériel and Services, United States Air Forces, March 1942 to August 1945.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I would like to make one or two corrections. They are not so much corrections as they are explanations. I was a special expert for the Tariff Commission, and in that capacity I helped to negotiate the Canadian trade agreement. My regular title was special expert.

Then, in connection with the position I held with the Army Air Forces, that is a little bit, well, shall I say garbled, by me or by some other process. The last position I held with the Army Air Forces was in the Control Division, where I was in charge of Analysis and Plans. Originally it was Analysis and Reports, and later Analysis and Plans, and the Control Division was working under the Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Matériel and Services.

Mr. TAVENNER. State a little more in detail what your duties were in that position.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Basically, to see to it that all the component parts of airplanes were brought together on paper so that they would come out on schedule on the production line, not only in connection with airplanes, but all other matériel that went into the fighting of the war so far as the Air Force was concerned. It had to do with scheduling of airplane production and supplies.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I assume from that explanation that it also included statistical work on the production of aircraft material?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Definitely.

Mr. VELDE. Who was your immediate superior at that time?

Mr. SILVERMAN. The head of the Control Division. There were many changes in the organization of the Air Forces. The last one was a Control Division, which had organizational problems and reporting problems and accounting problems. The head of that was Colonel Dyson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please?

Mr. SILVERMAN. D-y-s-o-n. He, in turn, was working directly under the Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Matériel and Services.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Colonel Powers was the last one. The one preceding him was General Eccles. The one preceding him was General Meyers.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was General Meyers' first name?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Bennett, I think M., Meyers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any further explanations or additions that you desire to make?

Mr. SILVERMAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline to the committee briefly your educational background?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I graduated from Boston English High School; 2 years at Boston University, and transferred to Harvard; graduated from Harvard in 1921; got a master's degree from Leland Stanford University in 1923, and a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1929 or 1930. I think it was 1929; it might have been 1930.

Mr. TAVENNER. In listing your employment, did you fail to consider that you were at one time employed by the Division of Monetary Research of the United States Treasury Department?

Mr. SILVERMAN. No. I was not employed by the Division of Monetary Research. I served in an advisory capacity, in one particular capacity, part time, on loan.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were on loan to the Division of Monetary Research of the United States Treasury Department for a period of several months?

Mr. SILVERMAN. As a matter of fact, I forgot to list something else. I was also on loan, in a manner of speaking, to the War Refugee Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I think in 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you on loan to the Treasury Department?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I spent part of my time in the Treasury Department for 2 or 3 months on loan.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. SILVERMAN. That was in 1941. I was serving in an advisory capacity in connection with frozen funds.

Mr. TAVENNER. At whose instance were you loaned to the Treasury Department?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Mr. White.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dexter White?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Mr. Dexter White.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was your immediate superior while you were there?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Mr. White and to a certain extent perhaps Mr.—the organizational lines were not clear because I was not looked upon as a member of the organization, but I was merely there to help them with a particular problem—Morris Bernstein might conceivably have considered himself related to me collaterally on that particular problem.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your function when you were serving on loan with the Treasury Department?

Mr. SILVERMAN. It was to get up a form that would ask all possible questions as to what holdings the nationals of other countries had in this country. It was a long and technical form, probably the longest in the history of such forms.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Mr. Dexter White prior to serving on loan with the Treasury Department?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I would like to consult with my attorney.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes, I knew Mr. White for a very, very long time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of that association?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Originally I met him at Stanford University, where he was a student, and later on I was a fellow student of his at Harvard.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask you whether, in applying for your position with the Army Air Forces—that is, the position that you just described a few moments ago—you gave the following individuals as references: Harry D. White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; David Weintraub, Economic Adviser, WPB; Lauchlin Currie, Administrative Assistant to the President; A. Emanuel Fox, member of the Chinese Stabilization Fund; James Robinson, Administrative Officer, WPB; and Frank A. Southard, Assistant Director of Monetary Research, Treasury Department.

Mr. SILVERMAN. That sounds reasonable. I know all these people. I don't recollect the exact circumstances. That, I would imagine, is correct.

Mr. WOOD. We still can't hear you.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I say that is undoubtedly correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your association and relationship with Mr. David Weintraub?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Under these circumstances, and on the advice of counsel, I refuse to answer that, decline to answer that, in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment, since what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions did he hold with the United States Government, to your knowledge, other than that of Economic Adviser of the War Production Board?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment, since what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the character of your association with Mr. Laughlin Currie, and over what period of time did you know him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds, in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment, since what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you the same question in relation to Mr. A. Emanuel Fox.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I give the same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what positions Mr. A. Emanuel Fox has held other than that of member of the Chinese Stabilization Fund?

Mr. SILVERMAN. He was head of the Tariff Commission. That is a matter of public record.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. SILVERMAN. He is dead.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did he die?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how long he has been dead, approximately?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. Maybe 4 years. I don't definitely recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your association with Mr. James Robinson, and over how long a period did you know him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment, since what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions has he held with the Government, to your knowledge, other than that of administrative officer of the War Production Board?

Mr. SILVERMAN. It is a matter of public record that he held the position of Coordinator of Unemployment Insurance, I think, Railroad Retirement Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. SILVERMAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know his present employment?

Mr. SILVERMAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been the nature of your association with Mr. Frank A. Southard, and how long have you known him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer on the same constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions has he held with the Federal Government other than that of Assistant Director of Monetary Research, Treasury Department?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I think it is a matter of public record that he was working for the United States Tariff Commission, also as a special expert, at the same time that I was working for the United States Tariff Commission as a special expert.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. SILVERMAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Mr. Southard was ever in the Naval Intelligence Service?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I can't remember now that I ever knew.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the last time that you saw him?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. Years ago. I haven't the faintest conception.

Mr. WOOD. I didn't hear you.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Years ago, so far as I can recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Silverman, the committee has again subpoenaed you in an effort to solicit your cooperation with respect to the truth or falsity of the testimony given to this committee by Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley and also Mr. Whittaker Chambers. At the time you were before this committee during the Eighty-first Congress, you stated, in a statement read before the committee, and I quote:

In the light of these circumstances—

which were the circumstances you had previously enumerated—

and in view of the fact that the New York grand jury has not been dismissed, and this committee has indicated that a special grand jury may be convened in the city of Washington, my defense against the malicious charges requires the use of those provisions written into the Constitution of the United States precisely in order to protect the innocent against the peril of persecution.

Mr. Silverman, in view of the fact that the grand jury to which you referred in 1948 has now been dismissed and there is no present grand jury sitting investigating the charges of Elizabeth T. Bentley, I will ask if you will cooperate with the committee in answering questions relating to her testimony?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Go ahead and ask me the questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and under what circumstances did you meet Miss Bentley?

Mr. JAFFE. I object to that. That assumes a state of facts——

Mr. WOOD. Counsel will confer with the witness. You are at liberty to confer with the witness at any time. Under the rules that we operate under, counsel has the privilege at any time of conferring with and advising the witness.

Mr. JAFFE. I see; but I am not to make objections.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will change the form of the question. Do you know Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment, since what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. WOOD. If possible, I would like to wait until counsel is through.

Mr. VELDE. I think it is important at this point.

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

Mr. VELDE. I would like to read into the record a statement made voluntarily by Mr. Silverman in his last appearance before this committee in 1948. I quote:

I am innocent of any charges of espionage or other criminal conduct. With regard to my accuser, who has done me such irreparable harm, I am compelled to conclude that only a mind distorted by fear or greed or deep frustration could construct an edifice of such monstrous falsehood.

Is that statement still true?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. In view of that fact, if you are innocent and not guilty of any criminal conduct, how could it possibly incriminate you to answer the question?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Under these circumstances it means just this: That I have been pursued and harassed continuously and regularly in an intensified form. The conditions of life have become exceedingly oppressive for me and my family, and the most innocent act is misinterpreted and searched out with all sorts of suspicion; and under those circumstances I believe that I must fall back on my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Silverman, it isn't the purpose of this committee to smear anybody. We have tried, to the best of our ability, to protect the legitimate rights of everybody appearing before us. You have enjoyed the benefits of this Government of ours over a period of years. You have had good positions, positions that paid high salaries, and I hope you bear that in mind when you take the position that you will not assist this committee in its work in endeavoring to ascertain whether or not there has been any conspiracy to overthrow the Government that has been so good to you. I just don't understand why you are not willing, under those circumstances, to cooperate with this committee.

Mr. SILVERMAN. The facts of the last 3 or 4 years have been somewhat otherwise with reference to the possibility of living like a decent human being, both with respect to the conditions of living and the possibilities of work. This is my Government, and I am a strong supporter of it, but on the advice of counsel, under the circumstances, I must fall back on the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. Do I understand you that you are willing to cooperate with this committee but your lawyer has advised you not to?

Mr. SILVERMAN. No. I firmly identify myself with that particular point of view.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WALTER. Don't you feel that your appearance here might enable you to clarify the atmosphere, so that no longer would you be harassed, as you put it?

Mr. SILVERMAN. It is not unwillingness to cooperate with the committee. It is merely the effort to protect my privileges and rights and to protect myself against conditions which become too oppressive and too difficult for me to handle except by falling back on my constitutional rights—

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN (continuing). With regard to certain questions. It is very difficult for me to adopt that point of view. I mean, I am just the sort of person who finds it difficult not to answer any questions that are asked honestly and directly; but, in view of all the circumstances that have transpired, I am forced to fall back on my constitutional rights.

Mr. WALTER. What circumstances?

Mr. SILVERMAN. The degree of harassment I have been subjected to is simply unbelievable. After all, I didn't make up my mind to walk out in the street and figure out how to make a living under very horrible circumstances because I wanted to. I had to, because I simply could not see myself being put in the position of embarrassing or harming the living opportunities of other people.

Mr. NIXON. You feel, Mr. Silverman, that your position of continuing to refuse to answer questions on the ground of possible self-incrimination will in some way dispel these circumstances that you have spoken about?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I have no explicit opinion on that particular score. I don't think it at all follows. All I am doing is refusing to answer certain questions in the exercise of my constitutional privilege to do so.

Mr. NIXON. You realize your refusal to answer those questions put you in the very position you have described; do you not?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I am not at all certain on that score. If it does, it isn't a sufficiently powerful reason, in view of all the other circumstances, to cause me to come to any other conclusion as to how I must act.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Silverman; if I might make this observation, I gathered from the testimony you gave when you were before this committee 2 years ago, from the language you used that has just been read to you, that you at least intended to convey the impression that you were entirely guiltless of the accusations and charges made against you and insinuated against you in the testimony of the witness who has been mentioned. It is difficult for me to understand, if that is true, why you are now unwilling to take advantage of this forum and declare publicly and categorically——

Mr. SILVERMAN. In view of the way I have been pursued——

Mr. WOOD. No one is pursuing you now. You are given an opportunity to either repudiate these charges, deny them completely, or admit them if they are true, or to decline to answer. Declining to answer may have only one inference from an impartial standpoint, and I am certainly impartial.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Nobody can understand the nature of the things involved in terms of the oppression that I am talking about except the one who has lived through them, and he has to make his decisions on that basis.

Mr. WOOD. Taking you in good faith as to your protestations of innocence of any wrongdoing, isn't this a good opportunity, about as good as you can find, to set the record clear on that score once and for all?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I am willing to set the record straight insofar as I can; but, with regard to specific questions, I must decline to answer in the exercise of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

Mr. McSWEENEY. May I ask a question?

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McSweeney.

Mr. McSWEENEY. You said you were unemployed now. Is that because of the situation that arose before this committee in 1948?

Mr. SILVERMAN. No. It is by virtue of the situation that arose because of the issuance of the subpoena this time.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Have you sought employment and been refused?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I spent a whole year seeking employment. I wound up by doing something I had never done before.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Was this cloud the excuse used for not giving you employment?

Mr. SILVERMAN. It was a little more specific than that. Every prospective employer was visited and questioned, and various devices were employed.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Then wouldn't it be true, as our chairman suggested, that this cloud could all be lifted if you testified fully and frankly before this committee?

Mr. SILVERMAN. In view of all the circumstances, it has appeared to me, on advice of counsel and on my own instance, that I must exercise my privilege under the fifth amendment against possible self-incrimination.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. Where it applies.

Mr. McSWEENEY. One of my chief worries as a member of this committee is that people who appear before it might have their employment jeopardized.

Mr. SILVERMAN. In my instance, the mere issuance of the subpoena was sufficient to cause me, as a man of integrity—a great deal of integrity, I believe—to take the initiative and resign because of the possibility—not possibility but probability—of harming the means of earning a livelihood of others. I was not asked to resign, but it was clear from all the circumstances that my failure to do so would have these consequences.

Mr. WALTER. Isn't it a fact you are being harassed, as you put it, only because of the attitude which you took in testifying before this committee, and, if that is true, would not the position you are taking today aggravate that condition?

Mr. SILVERMAN. That is not the only reason, in my opinion, why I have been harassed. There has been a tendency to misinterpret everything I have said. Nothing I have said or done has caused this; it has been what other people have said, this fabric of falsification I have referred to.

Mr. McSWEENEY. The sentiment of this committee that we are trying to express—and I have every confidence in my colleagues that they are sincere—is that we want to give you an opportunity to refute those accusations.

Mr. SILVERMAN. There is much more than appearance before this committee that is at issue. And I don't consider that I am refusing to cooperate with the committee. I simply feel that in regard to certain questions I must exercise my constitutional privilege.

Mr. WALTER. As a practical matter, why don't you use this committee as the sounding board to remove the stigma that the statements of other people have placed upon you?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I would very much like to do that, but in view of the circumstances which I have described, which have extended over a long period and which have caused me to react in different ways, I feel I must exercise my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. I, for one, am willing to sit here as long as it takes you to refute anything anybody has ever said about you that has resulted in your being harassed.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Mr. Chairman, I make the suggestion that if Mr. Silverman wishes to consult his counsel and go over it a little more in detail than he can here, that that opportunity be given him. As Mr. Walter says, we haven't the power to exonerate, but we have the power to give the witness the privilege of a public hearing.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Silverman, we are trying to prevent the kind of harrassment coming to the citizens of this Nation that the people of the country you come from have been subjected to.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand in recess for 10 minutes.

(Thereupon, at 11:35 a. m., a recess was taken until 11:45 a. m.)

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Silverman, you had a little time to consider your position in this matter. Have you any statement you would like to make on the chairman's suggestion?

Mr. SILVERMAN. My counsel and I have considered the matter, and we see no reason for changing my position. I am not refusing to cooperate with this committee, in my view. What I am doing is exercising my constitutional privilege with reference to those questions the answer to which might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me then ask you a few questions about the type of work that was being done in connection with your employment with the Air Staff, Matériel and Services Branch, of the Air Forces. You have told us that part of that was control work, and I don't understand what you mean by control work.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Control was essentially related to the matter of accounting, as one subject; organizational problems, organization of the Matériel Service and Air Service Commands insofar as they are related to headquarters in Washington. It had to do with scheduling and reporting in regard to production. It is a pretty technical concept.

Mr. TAVENNER. And rather all-inclusive in its nature in the handling of contracts for the production of Air Force matériel?

Mr. SILVERMAN. The basic proposition was with respect to the scheduling of production. The military problems were not within the purview of the Control Division. It was more business management.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would it be extensive enough to include the actual delivery to the Armed Forces of the material?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes. The end product would be the scheduling of deliveries.

Mr. TAVENNER. There has been considerable evidence before this committee, taken back in January of this year, to the effect that tremendous quantities of material of all descriptions passed to Russia under the Lend-Lease program through Great Falls, where there was a section set up by the Russians to receive that material. Colonel Kotikov was the Russian official in charge of that section. There has been considerable evidence that a lot of information and plans went through Great Falls to the Russians. Do you know of any occasion

when members of the Russian Purchasing Commission, or other representatives of the Russian Government, came to your section and obtained information relating to those materials?

Mr. SILVERMAN. To the best of my recollection I had absolutely no connection whatsoever with any relations with the Russians. I don't know anything about the amount of their production.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did they receive any information from your unit? (Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. Insofar as I know they didn't, but I can't speak for the whole Army Air Forces or for the whole Control Division.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever meet Colonel Kotikov or any representative of the Russian Government in connection with the work of your office?

Mr. SILVERMAN. To the best of my recollection, never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did any representative of the Russian Government, whether a member of the Russian Purchasing Commission or not ever seek information from you?

Mr. SILVERMAN. To the best of my recollection, never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time give information pertaining to the statistics of production of materials to be used by the Air Force to an unauthorized person?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I never knowingly gave any classified information or documents to any unauthorized person.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Victor Perlo was a witness before this committee in August 1948, and he testified that he was employed with the War Production Board, and this is his statement with regard to the functions of that Board, with which he was connected:

In the War Production Board I was one of the analysts in the Office of Progress Reports. It was my specific responsibility to analyze problems involved in the production of aircraft and to prepare reports which I trust were of some small assistance in helping to increase and accelerate the production of military aircraft during the war.

That was largely work in your field, was it not?

Mr. SILVERMAN. In the same general field. The Army Air Forces had to tie in with the War Production Board at particular points.

Mr. TAVENNER. In connection with the performance of your duties, did you confer frequently with Victor Perlo?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you the question in a little different way: Did you confer with him at all regarding materials of the Air Force?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I don't believe I ever did confer with him with respect to production or any other matter, but he was a representative of the War Production Board in connection with certain committees.

Mr. TAVENNER. Speak a little louder.

Mr. SILVERMAN. In connection with certain committees; and my recollection at this time is that it had something to do with labor. I may have casually talked about matters that were of interest to both the Army Air Forces and the War Production Board, but I never had any official or other relations with him in regard to war production. I don't know what his relations were with another section that had to do with the War Production Board. I am trying to remember what the name of that section was that had to do with the facilities required for the production of aircraft and other matériel, of which General Hopkins was the chief. I have a recollection I saw him there two or three times.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will confine the question now to your contact with Victor Perlo in connection with your own duties or your own work in your employment. Did you not confer with him by telephone frequently in connection with official matters in your work?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Indeed not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer with him by telephone from your office about matters that were not official?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I don't have any recollection of ever having done that. I answered the phone if anybody ever called me up. I didn't have any elaborate screening processes. I spoke to anybody who called me up. I have no recollection of ever speaking to him about any of these matters. It is conceivable I might have had some general discussion at lunch when several of us went to lunch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us more about the general discussions you had with him at lunch.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I have a recollection he was at the Army Air Forces to attend these meetings now and then. I don't know how many times. It seems to me it was very infrequently. Nothing I was involved in, but he might have been in the office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you confer with him on the telephone frequently, a number of times, from your office?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I personally, or somebody from my office?

Mr. TAVENNER. You personally?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I have no such recollection, unless he called me up and asked me about something or other. I never called him up that I recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say now that he may have initiated the conversation by calling you?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I have no such recollection.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you furnish him any information from your office of any character?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I have no recollection that I ever furnished any information to him. If anyone within that office did so, insofar as I have any recollection, it would be in connection with some casual question relating to the organizational functioning between the Army Air Forces and the War Production Board; maybe a statement to the effect that he was going to be in there for a meeting. I have no other recollection than of the most casual sort.

Mr. TAVENNER. What would be the occasion for your conferring with Victor Perlo?

Mr. SILVERMAN. He was tied in with aircraft production in the War Production Board. I would have no occasion to confer with him, particularly, that I recollect. I don't know what his necessities would be along those lines, in connection with the coordination between the two or attending meetings. To the best of my recollection I never even attended a meeting at which he was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you known Victor Perlo?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the last time you saw him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you also call Nathan Gregory Silvermaster by telephone from your office?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Miss Gilda Burke, secretary of Mr. Silvermaster?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was Mr. Silvermaster employed at the time that you occupied the position to which we have referred as being in the Air Staff Matériel and Services Branch of the United States Air Forces?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. That question assumes that I have some knowledge of him, and I am refusing to answer it in the exercise of my constitutional privileges.

Mr. NIXON. You mean you didn't have any knowledge of him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I am refusing to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time deliver a package of material of any nature or description to the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been in the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was William Ludwig Ullmann employed in the Treasury Department at the same time you were?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. Well, the same point there. That question assumes that I know him, and I am refusing to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I would like to have the question separate with respect to that.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question is whether or not, to your knowledge, William Ludwig Ullmann was employed in the Treasury Department when you were employed there, or when you were on loan to that Department?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I never considered I was employed by the Treasury Department.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were on loan there?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I was on loan there part of the time, and my salary was paid by the Railroad Retirement Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. Regardless of that, you were on loan to the Treasury Department. During that period of time, was William Ludwig Ullmann employed there?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes; he was employed there at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you assist in getting him a recommendation for his admission as a candidate to an officers' training school?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege under the fifth amendment, since what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. Why do you think it might incriminate you to recommend someone to be commissioned as an officer in the United States Army?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I have to refuse to answer that question, too, on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Silverman, I understood you to say a few moments ago that you would make the statement today that you had never given any Government material, documents, or information to any unauthorized person. Is that correct?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I said I never knowingly gave any classified documents to any unauthorized person.

Mr. NIXON. Did you give any to Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. If you testify you never knowingly gave it to anybody, why do you refuse to answer the specific question whether you gave it to Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Because I am refusing to say I ever knew Mr. Silvermaster.

Mr. WALTER. All right; all right. Mr. Tavenner, I would like to have you explore the connection of A. Emanuel Fox with the Chinese Stabilization Commission.

Mr. TAVENNER. You furnished the name of Mr. Fox as one of the persons who should be treated as a reference for one of the positions you applied for. How long was he connected with the Chinese Stabilization Fund, and where was he stationed?

Mr. SILVERMAN. He died in China. I said it was about 4 or 5 years ago. My general recollection is that it was on the order of 1 or 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in China at any time that he was there?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I have never been in China.

Mr. TAVENNER. What can you tell us about his work in connection with the Chinese Stabilization Fund?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Very little.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us what you know about it.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I know the general objectives, I think I remember the general objectives, of that joint commission. The basic purpose was to prevent accelerated inflation in China. I remember it was a joint commission, and I believe it had representation from the United States and from Great Britain and from China itself, and that its general objective was the prevention of inflation, or accelerated inflation, because my recollection is there had been a great deal of inflation there already.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever do any work in connection with that stabilization fund project?

Mr. SILVERMAN. To my recollection, never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Solomon Adler associated with Mr. Fox in connection with his duties in the administration of that fund?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, that what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Who is Solomon Adler?

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee took the testimony of Solomon Adler here some months ago, and he was mentioned in the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley as a person serving in China with that fund. She did not have personal knowledge of it, but she knew of certain activities on his part which she testified to.

Mr. NIXON. Is he no longer with the Government?

Mr. TAVENNER. He resigned 2 days after he appeared before his committee as a witness.

Mr. Adler, in testifying before this committee on April 25, 1950, was asked the question of who introduced him to Abraham George Silverman, and he answered, "I don't recall." The question was then asked him, "You met him here in Washington?" and he answered, "Yes."

Did you meet Mr. Adler here in Washington?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Chao' Ting Chi was connected with the work of that Commission and was in the United States for some period of time. Were you acquainted with him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment, since what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what Chao' Ting Chi's present position is with the Communist Government of China?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. WALTER. Do I understand, Mr. Counsel, that this man Chi was a member of the Chinese Stabilization Commission and he now occupies a position with the Chinese Communist Government?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir, and I am trying to find the position which he now holds. The hearing in the Adler testimony, I am fairly certain, discloses that this individual was working in close connection with the administration of this organization known as the Chinese Stabilization Fund, and he is now the head of monetary affairs in the new Chinese Communist Government.

You are unwilling to enlighten the committee on the activities of any of those individuals?

Mr. SILVERMAN. It doesn't run in terms of unwillingness to enlighten the committee; it runs in terms of my refusal to answer questions that in my judgment might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. Were you in a position at any time to prevent the delivery of airplanes to the Chinese Nationalist Government?

Mr. SILVERMAN. No. That is inconceivable. I was never in a position to prevent the delivery of aircraft to anybody. Mine was a highly technical job of statistics and analysis in relation to scheduling. I was a scheduling expert.

Mr. WALTER. And did that scheduling include the delivery of airplanes to any government other than the United States Government?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Not directly.

Mr. WALTER. But it did indirectly, in that the lend-lease program was tied in with that, wasn't it?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Somebody was making decisions as to where the airplanes were going, which had nothing to do with the air service command. It was absolutely beyond my purview. Mine was a highly technical statistical and planning job.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, to clarify the record, it appears from the testimony of Mr. Adler that Chao' Ting Chi in 1941 was secretary of the Stabilization Board of China.

Did you at any time deliver any material or information to Mr. William Ludwig Ullmann relating to aircraft materials?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege under the fifth amendment, since what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know that the testimony you give here is privileged and cannot be used against you in any trial of any sort?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I have never considered the proposition. I am not a lawyer.

Mr. WALTER. Suppose I tell you that under the law testimony given here cannot be used against you in any criminal case, provided, of course, it is not perjured testimony. Suppose I told you that was the law; would you then hesitate to assist us in our inquiry?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I would have to seek the advice of counsel.

Mr. WALTER. If he told you that that was not the law, then you had better get new counsel.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know a Mr. Joseph B. Gregg?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know his wife, Ruth Gregg?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Maurice Halperin?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. That is spelled H-a-l-p-e-r-i-n.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I never heard of the person.

Mr. WOOD. You have never heard of him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. It may have arisen in connection with these various hearings, but to the best of my recollection I never heard of the person. So I simply have a blank with respect to him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Whittaker Chambers at any time come to you and seek your assistance in securing Federal employment, in which instance you referred him to Irving Kaplan?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege under the fifth amendment, since any answer I would give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do know Whittaker Chambers, do you not?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Irving Kaplan?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with William H. Taylor?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know David Niven Wheeler?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know George Shaw Wheeler?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Allan Rosenberg?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Norman Bursler?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Frank Coe, C-o-e?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a meeting at which Veet Bassie, V-e-e-t B-a-s-s-i-e, Irving Kaplan, or Harry Magdoff, M-a-g-d-o-f-f- was present?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McSweeney.

Mr. McSWEENEY. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall an episode about a rug in 1936?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment, since what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Do you still have the rug?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. Did you give information to the grand jury concerning the rug?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that what transpired before the grand jury is confidential.

Mr. NIXON. Did you give any information to anyone concerning the rug?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that what I would say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. You recall reading about the testimony of Lee Pressman before this committee on Monday?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Do I recall reading it?

Mr. NIXON. Did you read about it in the paper?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. You may recall most of the stories concerning Mr. Pressman's appearance pointed out that he felt that in the light of the developments in Korea he could no longer take refuge behind the fifth amendment and other constitutional guaranties, and that he should cooperate with the committee and with the country in giving

what information he could that would be of assistance. I would like to ask you, do you know Mr. Pressman?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment to protect myself against possible self-incrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I omitted to ask a question I intended to ask. I should like to ask it when Mr. Nixon is through.

Mr. NIXON. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege under the fifth amendment against possible self-incrimination, and under the first amendment.

Mr. NIXON. You said a moment ago, or at least left the implication, that you owed your complete loyalty to the United States of America.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes. I didn't leave it open to implication.

Mr. NIXON. I mean, you left the implication with the committee that that was your position. You have no qualifications on that?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I have no qualifications on that.

Mr. NIXON. You also stated you would state unqualifiedly that you had never given any classified information to any unauthorized person.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I never knowingly gave any classified information to any unauthorized person.

Mr. NIXON. And yet, when we asked if you gave any information to a specific person, you refused to answer on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Because the question assumed I knew a person whom I refused to admit I knew. I have been advised that is the proper legal position to take. I am no expert in these matters.

Mr. NIXON. You realize, of course, that by answering in that way, by refusing to answer specific questions as to whether you had given information to unauthorized persons, that you yourself have created the impression about which you are complaining this morning: The impression that there might be a question about your loyalty. You are doing it yourself. If you were to answer those questions and say "No", it could not incriminate you or anybody else, and you know that, don't you? If you didn't give anything to Mr. Silvermaster, why don't you say so?

Mr. SILVERMAN. You know the legal implications better than I do. All I can do is confer with my counsel.

Mr. NIXON. You can confer with your counsel; but, if you did not engage in any activities that were unauthorized, the way to clear yourself and help this committee is to say, "No; I didn't give any information to Silvermaster, to Bentley, or to anybody else."

All I can say here—and I speak for myself—is that you yourself are bringing down this public disapproval of yourself, and nobody else. You can't blame this committee, or the FBI, or hysteria, as you did before, or anything else, because you have in your hands, just as Mr. Pressman had it in his hands, the opportunity to clear the record. And, as far as I am concerned, you or any other person who has come to this country and become a citizen, or who was born here, for that matter, and who refuses to answer simple questions that involve the very security of this country, certainly United States citizenship should be withdrawn from such individuals.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I never said that I blamed anybody. I did point to the facts of life, as to what happened.

Mr. NIXON. And that is unfortunate if you are, as you claim, an innocent man. But, as Mr. McSweeney pointed out a while ago, you have the power in your hands to clear the record. Mr. Pressman came and attempted to give some information—at least he gave some information—and we hope to get more in the future; and it seems to me that, either to this committee or to the FBI or some other agency of the Government, you should do likewise; and, until you do, you yourself are bringing down this public disapproval.

Under those circumstances, won't you cooperate with the committee, particularly in view of the fact we are now involved in a war with the Communists in Korea? Particularly in view of that fact, won't you give us that information, and you will be helping yourself and your country? Let us forget the legal aspect and get down to the facts. As Mr. Walter said, nothing you say here can be used against you in a criminal action.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I am not refusing to cooperate with the committee.

Mr. NIXON. You are refusing to cooperate with the committee, and you know very well you are. Would you be willing to go and give this information to the FBI in complete secrecy?

Mr. SILVERMAN. What information?

Mr. NIXON. Answer these questions that we have asked you. Will you do that?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. NIXON. Let the record show that on this question the witness is consulting with counsel. We want to know if it is counsel's answer or the witness'.

Mr. JAFFE. Is he entitled to consult with me?

Mr. NIXON. Yes, but I want the record to show he is consulting with counsel on this question.

Mr. WOOD. I assume the record shows that in every instance.

Mr. SILVERMAN. If the FBI comes along, I will make my decision at that particular point.

Mr. NIXON. You mean, if the FBI asks you, you will then make the decision as to whether you will cooperate with them?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I will meet that question when it comes up. I am not consulting my counsel as to any answers. I am trying to cooperate to the fullest possible extent, and at the same time trying to protect myself from possible self-incrimination. I am not a lawyer. I don't know about these things.

Mr. NIXON. I have the highest regard for your mental ability, aside from the fact of whether you are a lawyer or not. The point I want to make is this: If, as you say—and we would like to believe that, certainly, in view of the very important positions you have held with the Government—if, as you say, the charges Mr. Chambers made against you are false, and the charges Miss Bentley made are false, if you say "No" when we ask about the specific charges, you can't possibly incriminate yourself. A "Yes" answer is the only one that is going to incriminate you.

I ask you again: Have you ever given any information to Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. I understood awhile ago, Mr. Witness, that you stated your reason for declining to answer the question as to whether you had delivered material to an unauthorized person was that the question carried an implication you knew such person, whom you had not admitted you knew. Is that right?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. As I understood, you did admit on the stand you knew Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. SILVERMAN. It is a matter of record he worked in the same division with me.

Mr. WOOD. You recall you did say you knew him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Following that answer, you declined to state whether you delivered any classified material to him.

Mr. SILVERMAN. That is right.

Mr. WOOD. So that your reason for declining to answer does not apply to that instance; does it?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. As I said, it is a matter of record that he worked in the same division I was in.

Mr. WOOD. But you declined to answer whether or not you furnished him with classified information?

Mr. SILVERMAN. That is right.

Mr. WOOD. Your reason for declining to answer that you now offer does not apply in that instance; does it?

Mr. SILVERMAN. That is correct. There isn't that degree of logic in life.

Mr. WOOD. I will ask you again whether you ever furnished to Mr. Ullmann at any time any classified information?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I will have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. WOOD. By the way, what was your rate of pay while you were in the Government service?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I think the last pay I received was \$9,800. Maybe it was \$10,000.

Mr. WOOD. You were receiving the top salary permissible under the law; were you not?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I believe there were others receiving more than I was. It was one of the top salaries at that time in my professional grade, my professional work. I was receiving substantially more on the job that I resigned yesterday, and I received twice as much many times outside the Government.

Mr. WOOD. That is all. Witness excused.

The committee will stand at recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 12:45 p. m., on Thursday, August 31, 1950, a recess was taken until Friday, September 1, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 2

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:15 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, John McSweeney (arriving as indicated), Richard M. Nixon (arriving as indicated), and Harold H. Velde (arriving as indicated).

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, Courtney Owens, and Alvin W. Stokes, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order, please.

(The first witness on this day, Joshua Daniel White, commonly known as "Josh" White, is not related to the following proceedings and is printed separately under title "Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups—Part 3.")

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Nathan Witt.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Witt, will you stand and be sworn, please.

You solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WITT. I do.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Witt, as a witness before this committee, have you any objection to the photographers taking your picture?

Mr. WITT. No; I don't.

Mr. Wood. Have a seat.

I will ask you gentlemen to take the pictures with as little disturbance as possible.

Before we proceed, let the record disclose that for the purpose of this hearing a subcommittee has been set up by the chairman, consisting of Messrs. Walter, Velde, and Wood, and they are all present.

TESTIMONY OF NATHAN WITT, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD I. CAMMER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. WITT. Nathan Witt.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present address?

Mr. WITT. 160 West Seventy-seventh Street, New York 24.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented here by counsel?

Mr. WITT. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record.

Mr. CAMMER. Harold I. Cammer, C-a-m-m-e-r, 9 East Fortieth Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Witt, in the course of your examination here, you are at liberty at any time you desire to confer with your counsel.

Mr. WITT. I understand.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Witt, you are appearing here this morning pursuant to a subpoena which was accepted in your behalf by your counsel, Mr. Cammer; is that correct?

Mr. WITT. That is correct.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. WITT. I was born in New York City in the year 1903.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you used any name other than the name you have given us, Nathan Witt?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WITT. My family name when I was born was Witkowsky, W-i-t-k-o-w-s-k-y. That name was changed when I was a minor, I believe in the year 1919, by my father.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you used any name other than that name?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WITT. Mr. Chairman, I have a prepared statement here which I would like to read into the record before I answer this and subsequent questions.

Mr. WOOD. It isn't the policy of this committee to take the time to read prepared statements. I understand your statement is quite lengthy.

Mr. WITT. No; it is not, Mr. Chairman. Perhaps you are referring to another statement. It is only one mimeographed sheet, double-spaced.

Mr. WOOD. Perhaps I have more than one copy, then.

(Hon. Richard M. Nixon entered hearing room.)

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. WITT. My statement is as follows:

The witness who appeared before you the other day added nothing to what a similar witness told you in 1948 on the basis of which you called me then.

(Hon. John McSweeney entered hearing room.)

Mr. WITT (continuing reading). Consequently, there is no reason to change the position I asserted then that the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination is available to me against questions dealing with my political beliefs and associations. I might also add that recent court decisions have confirmed the correctness of my position.

Other recent events have also fortified me in my opinion of this committee and its relationship to other developments in American life. Atom-bomb diplomacy and aggression have inevitably reflected themselves in domestic affairs. With it goes the increasing and frightening power of the monopolists over American life. With it goes the heightened attacks on the Negro people and the failure to wipe out the cancer of insult and discrimination visited on 15,000,000 of my fellow Americans. With it goes the acceptance and even

extension of Taft-Hartley and the weakening of the labor movement. With it goes red-baiting as the ideological poison gas directed toward compelling the American people to accept fascism and war. With all of this goes the increasing corruption, the increasing degradation of some intellectuals, the increasing demoralization of American life. In all of this, this committee has played an important role.

Only the reversal of the policies which began with the dropping of the atom bomb will save our social system from complete decay and restore American prestige and dignity in the eyes of humanity.

Mr. WOOD. Now will the reporter repeat the question asked by counsel before the witness read his statement.

(The question referred to was read by the reporter, as follows: "Have you used any name other than that name?")

Mr. WITT. Mr. Chairman, I object to the question on the ground that it violates my rights under the first amendment.

Mr. WOOD. The committee, of course, cannot be concerned with a witness' objection. Will you answer the question, or do you decline to answer it?

Mr. WITT. I must respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground that the answer might incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Witt, I know of no law that penalizes a man for using a different name than his own, unless he does it with some purpose of violating the law.

Mr. WITT. I think you are mistaken in respect to some State statutes, but the claim I am making is under the self-incrimination provision of the fifth amendment. As I understand the question, the answer would tend to incriminate me, and, as I understand my privilege under the fifth amendment, I have the right to decline to answer the question if that is my opinion.

Mr. WOOD. Do you so decline?

Mr. WITT. I do so decline.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline to the committee briefly your educational background?

Mr. WITT. I was educated in the public schools of the city of New York. I received my bachelor degree from the Washington Square College of New York University in 1927. I received my law degree from Harvard Law School in 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your employment record since you received your law degree from Harvard?

Mr. WITT. During the year 1932 to the year 1933 I was employed in the office of William J. Donovan. In the summer of 1933 I entered the employ of the United States Government in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of the Department of Agriculture. In February 1934 I transferred to the old National Labor Relations Board set up under Public Resolution 44 passed pursuant to the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that date?

Mr. WITT. The date I made the transfer to the old National Labor Relations Board I believe was February 1934. I remained on the legal staff of that Board until the Wagner Act was passed and became effective on July 5, 1935, and at that time I was transferred, together with the other employees of the old Board, to the staff of the new Board.

With that transfer I became a member of the legal staff of the present National Labor Relations Board, set up under the Wagner Act, and remained on the legal staff as attorney until December 1935, when I was appointed assistant general counsel of the Board. I remained such until November 1937, when I was appointed secretary of the Board, and remained such until November 1940, when I resigned from the Board. Since then I have been in private practice in the city of New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make application for the position which you accepted in 1933 with the AAA?

Mr. WITT. I have no independent recollection, but I assume that I must have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall by whom you were recommended for that position?

Mr. WITT. Yes; I do. I was recommended by Mr. Lee Pressman.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he occupy at that time in the AAA?

Mr. WITT. I believe at the time I joined the legal staff of triple A, Mr. Pressman was already assistant general counsel, although he may not have become assistant general counsel until a later date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you finally advance to the position of assistant general counsel?

Mr. WITT. I don't recall that I had that title. I had the title of chief of some section. I did receive a promotion before I left triple A, but I don't believe the title of assistant general counsel was bestowed upon me before I left.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the other persons who served as assistant general counsel during the time you were employed there?

Mr. WITT. I have a recollection of only one other assistant general counsel, although I may be wrong about this. I may be wrong in two respects, first, in naming the person I am about to name as assistant general counsel; and second, in the respect that there may have been still another assistant general counsel in addition to Mr. Pressman and the one I am about to name. The one I believe was assistant general counsel in addition to Mr. Pressman was Mr. Alger Hiss.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Abt an employee in that Department?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. Yes; he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he occupy?

Mr. WITT. I don't recall whether he had a title. He was on the legal staff. He may have had some title similar to the one I believe I had before I left triple A, chief of some section. I doubt he was an assistant general counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. How closely associated were you with Mr. Pressman while you were employed in the AAA?

Mr. WITT. The entire legal staff worked very closely together in Triple A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you occupy an office with him?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. Well, I didn't occupy an office with him if you mean by that whether I occupied the same room with him. During part of the period that I recall I occupied an office next to his. That was during the latter part of my employment with triple A. During the first part of my employment with triple A my office was some distance

from him. When I first came to triple A our offices were located in the main Agricultural Department Building, the old building, in which the Secretary was housed. During the period of my employment this enormous building called the South Building was completed, and we moved to that building.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Abt employed there when you arrived, or after your arrival?

Mr. WITT. I think after my arrival. I arrived in July or August 1933, and I think Mr. Abt came in the fall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Mr. Abt prior to your employment there?

Mr. WITT. I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how he was employed? By that I mean, who recommended him for employment?

Mr. WITT. I wouldn't be sure, but, if you want my best recollection, he was endorsed by the general counsel, Jerome N. Frank, now judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. But, as I say, I am not too sure of those facts.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you known Mr. Pressman before he recommended you for the position to which you were appointed?

Mr. WITT. I wouldn't be too sure of that. I got to know Mr. Pressman fairly well during the year I was in New York after I left law school, in 1932 or 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in school with him at Harvard?

Mr. WITT. No. He was in the class of 1929 and I was in the class of 1932. I graduated from college in 1927, but I spent 2 years working, and that is why I didn't enter law school until 1929, and I got my degree in 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in the class with Alger Hiss at Harvard?

Mr. WITT. No; because I believe Mr. Alger Hiss was also in the class of 1929, which meant both he and Mr. Pressman would have finished law school in June 1929, and I entered in September 1929.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Charles Kramer also employed in the AAA while you were employed there?

Mr. WITT. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity?

Mr. WITT. He was employed in what was known as the Consumers Counsel Section, a section of triple A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he employed before your arrival or after your arrival?

Mr. WITT. After my arrival.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have anything to do with the employment of either Mr. Abt or Mr. Kramer?

Mr. WITT. I answered the question as to Mr. Abt, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't believe you did, directly.

Mr. WITT. I said I had nothing to do with it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't understand you to say that.

Mr. WITT. I had nothing to do with the employment of Mr. Abt. As to Mr. Kramer, I believe I did have something to do with it, although I wouldn't be too sure of that. I had known Mr. Kramer a long time before that, and, if the record shows I recommended him, no doubt that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you became acquainted with Mr. Kramer?

Mr. WITT. He went to school with me in New York City. We went to high school together in New York City. I also lost some time in high school by reason of working, and when I returned Mr. Kramer was a classmate of mine. I believe that was in 1921.

Mr. TAVENNER. You left your employment with the AAA in 1934, as I understood?

Mr. WITT. That is correct. My recollection is it was the month of February 1934.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Pressman and Mr. Abt and Mr. Kramer leave their employment with the AAA at the same time that you did?

Mr. WITT. Not that I recollect. I think I left before any of those you named left the triple A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Pressman testified before this committee a few days ago that Mr. Wallace directed the removal of Mr. Frank and a number of his assistants. Were you one of those assistants?

Mr. WITT. No; I was not. I left before that happened. I left voluntarily.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you took employment with the National Labor Relations Board under the old Resolution 44?

Mr. WITT. I am not sure I understand what you mean. "Circumstances" is a very broad word, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; it is.

Mr. WITT. If you will be more specific.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you happen to be employed by that agency?

Mr. WITT. You mean how I made the decision to leave triple A and go to the old National Labor Relations Board?

Mr. TAVENNER. If you made that decision.

Mr. WITT. I made that decision because I had intended to go into the field of labor law. I studied labor law at Harvard Law School, and looked forward to making my living in labor law. I don't know of any effort I made to get in the original Labor Board, which was the National Labor Board. I think I was interested in getting there, but I didn't get it, but in February 1934 I did have the opportunity to go with the old National Labor Relations Board, and I took the opportunity because I wanted to get into that field.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which that opportunity was made available to you?

Mr. WITT. I am sorry. You will have to be more specific.

Mr. TAVENNER. You made mention of the fact you had the opportunity to go with the National Labor Relations Board. What do you mean by the opportunity to take employment with that Board?

Mr. WITT. Well, my best recollection is that I heard the way one hears things around Washington, that there was a vacancy on the legal staff of that Board. I talked to some people about it, as a result of which I was introduced to the members of the Board, and I had an interview with them and they decided to give me employment with that Board. The members of the Board at that time were: Lloyd Garrison, who I believe was chairman; Harold A. Miller, who died recently; and Edwin S. Smith.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you resigned in 1940, I believe you stated you returned to the private practice of law?

Mr. WITT. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Lee Pressman one of your law partners?
Mr. WITT. He was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was not. Was he associated in the same firm with you?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. Well, let me give you this answer to that question, if I understand what you are after. Mr. Pressman had been associated with this same firm before I entered it, under some other name. This firm, before I entered it, had gone through several changes. I believe, that Mr. Pressman had severed his association with that firm in 1936, but I wouldn't be too sure. In any event, when I entered the firm, or just before I entered the firm, there were four partners, and Mr. Pressman was not one of them. Mr. Pressman's name was still used, I recall that, just before I entered the firm. When I entered the firm, Mr. Pressman's name was dropped from the firm, and one of the four other partners resigned at that time, and the firm name became Liebman, Leider & Witt in January 1941.

Mr. CAMMER. Do you mind if I refresh his recollection?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. Mr. Cammer reminds me that Mr. Pressman continued to have some financial interest in the firm of Liebman, Leider & Witt, because of some matters that had been initiated in the old firm and were still pending.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Pressman return to that firm and become actively engaged in the practice of law while you were there?

Mr. WITT. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did he return?

Mr. WITT. In March or April 1948, I believe.

Mr. CAMMER. No; February.

Mr. WITT. May I correct that? Mr. Cammer corrects me on that point. He thinks the date is February 1948 instead of March or April.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did he remain with the firm?

Mr. WITT. Until the end of October 1949.

(Hon. John S. Wood left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Witt, Mr. Lee Pressman has testified before this committee that a person by the name of Harold Ware recruited him into the Communist Party here in the District of Columbia in the year 1933, and that he became a member of a Communist Party cell, along with you, John Abt, and Charles Kramer. Did you unite with the Communist Party cell to which I have just referred?

Mr. WITT. Who is acting chairman of the committee in Mr. Wood's absence?

Mr. WALTER. I am.

Mr. WITT. Mr. Walter, I object to that question on the ground it violates my rights, as I conceive them, under the fifth amendment to the Constitution, but as I understand the practice of the committee is not to pass on objections, I will pass that one.

Mr. WALTER. Your answer, then, is that you refuse to answer on the ground you believe your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. WITT. Yes; not under the first amendment, but under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Harold Ware employed in the AAA to your knowledge?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. He was not, to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Harold Ware have anything to do with your appointment with the AAA?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds I have already stated, specifically, on the ground that the answer to the question might tend to incriminate me, and I therefore claim my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time attend a Communist Party meeting at which Mr. Pressman, Mr. Kramer, Mr. Abt, Harold Ware, and J. Peters, otherwise known as Alexander Stevens, or any of them, were present?

Mr. WITT. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. I must decline to answer that question on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate me.

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. In order to save time, Mr. Chairman, instead of spelling out my privilege, may I say "For the same reason"?

Mr. WALTER. Yes, and by that you mean—

Mr. WITT. My privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. First and fifth amendments?

Mr. WITT. Not the first; the fifth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WITT. I am sorry. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not on one occasion appear before a committee of the Congress and deny that you were then or at any time had been a member of the Communist Party?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. I am sorry. I must refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not write a letter to the chairman of a congressional committee which was investigating the National Labor Relations Board, in which you stated that you denied membership in the Communist Party or affiliation with the Communist Party?

Mr. WITT. I am sorry. I must refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not also advise the chairman of that congressional committee in 1940 that you would be willing to appear before the committee and testify relating to that matter?

Mr. WITT. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, but I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you volume 4 of the record of the proceedings of the House Committee investigating the Labor Board and Wagner Act, and call your attention, on page 437, to National Labor Relations Board exhibit 492-D, purporting to be a letter from you to Hon. Howard W. Smith, chairman, under date October 16, 1940. I will ask you to examine that letter and state whether or not you wrote it and mailed it to the chairman or delivered it to him, and whether or not you did not request in that letter that it be made a part of the record of proceedings of that committee?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, for the benefit of the record I desire to incorporate this exhibit into the record of these proceedings, and to read it.

Mr. WALTER. Have you identified the handwriting?

Mr. TAVENNER. It is an official exhibit before a committee of Congress.

Mr. WALTER. Very well. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. That letter reads as follows:

NLRB EXHIBIT 492-D

OCTOBER 16, 1940.

HON. HOWARD W. SMITH,

*Chairman, Special Committee to Investigate the National Labor Relations Board,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: On September 27, 1940, Congressman Frank B. Keefe, of Wisconsin testified before your committee that in the course of several conversations with Dr. David J. Saposs and Mr. George W. Brooks, of the Board's Technical Service Division, they had stated to him that I "hewed to the Communist Party line." On October 3, 1940, one Ralph Emerson, after testifying that he had been present at one of the meetings between Congressman Keefe and Mr. Brooks, corroborated Congressman Keefe's testimony. In testifying before your committee on September 11, Dr. Saposs and Mr. Brooks had already denied making such statements.

Of course, the testimony in question is opinion and remote hearsay. However, I do wish to go on record that I am not now, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party, a "Communist sympathizer" or one who "hews to the Communist Party line."

I wish to comment on certain other matters developed in the course of Congressman Keefe's testimony:

(1) Congressman Keefe testified that the Dies committee listed my name as a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy. It is true that I was so listed. At the time the list was published, I publicly denied that I was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy. My denial was published in the Washington Post and the New York Times for October 26, 1939, in stories photostatic copies of which I attach hereto.

Efforts by chairman Madden and myself to discover through the Dies committee—

The next word seems to be blanked out. I don't know if it is "how" or what it is. So it reads without that word:

—(blank) my name came to appear on the list were fruitless. I now reiterate my denial that I was at any time a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

(2) Congressman Keefe testified that in his conversation with Mr. Brooks, Mr. Brooks, "in a rather nebulous manner, said something about a meeting" I was supposed to have had in a Washington apartment with Messrs. Browder, Amter, and Bridges. Congressman Keefe himself testified that he paid no attention to the story because it was based on vague rumor. I deny that any such meeting took place.

(3) While Congressman Keefe was testifying Mr. Shaughnessy of the committee's staff, put in evidence a copy of the column, *The Capital Parade*, from the *Washington Star* for October 19, 1939, and copies of my subsequent correspondence with Robert Kintner, one of the authors of the column, relative to the statement in the column that I was "an active opponent" of Judge Pecora and Mr. Jerome Frank "when they sought to have the Lawyers' Guild condemn Communist as well as Fascist dictatorship." I am a member of the National Lawyers' Guild. However, I wish to reiterate what I said in my correspondence with Mr. Kintner—that the statement in his column is utterly without foundation.

I hereby request that this letter be printed in the proceedings of your committee. I am also willing to appear before your committee to testify concerning these matters.

Very truly yours,

NATHAN WITT, *Secretary.*

Why aren't you willing to testify today concerning these matters, Mr. Witt?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

MR. WITT. Mr. Chairman, I still refuse to answer the question on the same ground.

MR. TAVENNER. Was the statement true on October 16, 1940, "I am not now, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party, a 'Communist sympathizer' or one who 'hews to the Communist Party line' " or any part of it?

MR. WITT. Mr. Chairman, I must decline to answer the question on the same ground.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you at that time a member of the Lawyers' Guild?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

MR. WITT. Yes, I was.

MR. TAVENNER. Are you now a member?

MR. WITT. I am.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you take any part in opposing Judge Pecora's movement within that organization that it go on record in opposition to the Communist Party as well as Fascist organizations?

MR. WITT. Mr. Chairman, that question is particularly offensive as I understand my rights under the first amendment, but nevertheless, I must refuse to answer it pursuant to the rights I have under the fifth amendment.

MR. TAVENNER. Judge Pecora did resign, did he not, from the Lawyers' Guild, because of his failure to get an endorsement by the Lawyers' Guild against the Communists as well as against Fascist organizations?

MR. WITT. I do have a recollection that Judge Pecora resigned, but I have no independent recollection as to the grounds for his resignation. (Hon. John McSweeney left the hearing room.)

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know how Mr. Victor Perlo was employed by the Government at the time you were employed at the AAA?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

MR. WITT. I don't.

(Hon. John McSweeney returned to the hearing room.)

MR. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Victor Perlo?

MR. WITT. I must decline to answer the question on the same ground.

MR. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with his wife, Katherine Wills Perlo?

MR. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with Alger Hiss?

MR. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Nathan Perlo?

MR. WITT. I don't believe I ever heard that name.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you associated at any time with Donald Hiss in any capacity?

MR. WITT. Donald Hiss was a classmate of mine at Harvard Law School.

MR. TAVENNER. After arriving in Washington, did you renew your acquaintanceship with him?

Mr. WITT. I must refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have occasion to make the acquaintance of Schlomer, S-c-h-l-o-m-e-r, Adler, better known as Sol or Solomon Adler?

Mr. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Irma Ringe, R-i-n-g-e?

Mr. WITT. I don't believe I ever heard that name. Will you give me the first name, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. I-r-m-a.

Mr. WITT. No. The answer still stands. I don't believe I ever heard that name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did your duties at any time require you to have contact with the Treasury Department, in any of your positions with the Government?

Mr. WITT. I believe they did, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the course of your performance of those duties, did you meet Mr. Harry Dexter White?

Mr. WITT. I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mr. Harry Dexter White?

Mr. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Gerald Graze, G-r-a-z-e?

Mr. WITT. I don't believe I have ever heard that name, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Harold Glasser, or associated with him in any of your work?

Mr. WITT. You have two questions there now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you associated with Harold Glasser in any work that you did for the Government?

(Hon. John McSweeney left hearing room.)

Mr. WITT. Not that I recall. I don't believe I did. When I said before I had some relations with Treasury when I was in the Government, they were minimum relations. I don't remember specifically what any of them were about. In any event, I had no relations with Mr. Glasser in any official capacity or his official capacity.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with him in an unofficial manner?

Mr. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Whittaker Chambers has testified before this committee that there was set up in the District of Columbia a Communist Party cell which he referred to as the Ware-Witt group, and I believe the name Abt was in it also. You have refused to answer the question about your membership, or alleged membership, in a Communist Party cell, but I would like to ask you if you became acquainted with Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with J. Peters, otherwise known as Alexander Stevens?

Mr. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall that Harold Ware was killed in an automobile accident?

Mr. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were in the District of Columbia, did you become a member of the Washington Book Shop?

Mr. WITT. I don't believe I did, although I may be mistaken about it. If I did, I was a member for only a short period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall having received publications or communications from that organization?

Mr. WITT. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the investigation which was conducted by the House Committee Investigating the Labor Board and Wagner Act, the record discloses a charge was made against you in connection with the handling of certain business of the Board. I believe at the time of this investigation you were secretary of the National Labor Relations Board, were you not?

Mr. WITT. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And evidence was taken and the charge made of improper handling of the affairs of the Board as a result of a conference between you and Mr. Lee Pressman in relation to the Inland Steel matter at Pittsburgh. Is that correct?

Mr. WITT. Yes, sir; such charges were made.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you and Mr. Lee Pressman influenced in any way by Communist Party activities in the conduct of the business while you were on the Board?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Tavenner, we will have to recess at this point, because that was the second bell a moment ago.

The committee will stand at recess until 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 11:30 a. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 2 p. m., Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding. Representatives Francis E. Walter and Harold H. Velde were present when the hearing began, and Representatives John S. Wood and Richard M. Nixon arrived as hereinafter noted.)

Mr. WALTER. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Tavenner, in the Times-Herald of Friday, September 1, there appears a column by one Willard Edwards in which it is stated that—

The hottest and most completely documented report ever compiled on American Communists is blistering the hands of Democratic members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities

and so on.

Do you know of any report that has been delivered to any Democratic member of this committee, or that any member of this committee knows about?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I am confident that no report has come through the hands of the staff to any committee member, nor do they know anything about it.

(At this point, Mr. Russell and Mr. Tavenner confer.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I am just advised there is one Republican member who knows about the report.

Mr. VELDE. For the purpose of the record, I don't know who is this Republican member who knows about the report, and since we have gotten into the situation, let us go ahead and say who it is.

Mr. WALTER. The article goes on to say:

The House committee issued a subpoena for Budenz but deferred his appearance until this week. It was reported that Representative Walter (Democrat) of Pennsylvania, administration representative on the committee, had been informed that Budenz could not furnish the documentation he had offered. When Budenz met that challenge by producing his list of 380 names and supporting evidence, his testimony was postponed.

What was the reason for his not testifying?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, we had subpoenaed here for Monday four members of the UE to testify. After those subpoenas were issued and too late to make any real adjustment in that it was decided to use Mr. Pressman on Monday morning, so Mr. Pressman testified, and his testimony, I believe, was not concluded until sometime around or after 5 o'clock that afternoon.

Then we had sworn in those four UE members and asked them to stay over until Tuesday, the following day. On Tuesday morning we had slated Mr. Budenz to testify. At the same time, we were advised that the Wood bill would reach the floor at 12 o'clock on that day. So it was just more work than could be done in 1 day. We took the testimony of one member of UE, and during the course of the morning I explained to Mr. Budenz that we could not possibly reach him until after we had disposed of that bill. We did not know whether that debate would last more than 1 day or not. But I tried to make an arrangement for a night session to hear Mr. Budenz that night. Mr. Budenz explained that he was on a very strict diet, and that the only place he could get anything to eat that would satisfy that diet was to return to his home, and he did not want to be held over until the next day, and if I understood it correctly he preferred not to come the next day.

Mr. WALTER. So the reason Mr. Budenz did not testify was the matter of accommodation to him?

Mr. TAVENNER. Absolutely.

Mr. VELDE. It wasn't possible for the committee to hear him Tuesday at all, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. It could not have been done unless we could have had a night session.

Mr. VELDE. And I believe he did leave with the staff the list of names referred to in the article?

Mr. TAVENNER. While we were waiting to begin the hearing that morning, a very short time before beginning the hearing, it was suggested that for the convenience of the committee we start copying the list of names and certain information we had, for the use of the committee. That work was divided between about 12 of the stenographic members of our staff to do, and I am advised now by Mr. Russell that there is no member of the committee who has seen that

list. As far as that is concerned, I have not seen it, but I know there is such a list and that the committee staff was working on it, but that we could not reach Mr. Budenz's testimony on Tuesday, and could not reach it on Wednesday, if we were going to convenience him.

I might add it was not a report. I believe I used the word "report" in referring to it. It was just a list.

Mr. WALTER. All right. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF NATHAN WITT—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Witt, were you acquainted with Henry Collins?

Mr. WITT. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. I must decline to answer that question on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate me, and therefore the privilege set forth in the fifth amendment is available to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever at the home of Mr. Henry Collins at St. Matthew's Court Apartments in Washington?

Mr. WITT. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Witt, Mr. Whittaker Chambers has testified before this committee that you and Mr. Pressman and others were members of a Communist Party cell established here in Washington in 1933, and Mr. Lee Pressman has testified that he was a member of such a cell and that you were a member with him.

We have produced an official record of Congress, namely, the record of the proceedings of the House Committee Investigating the Labor Board and Wagner Act, which contains a letter from you in which you denied being a member of the Communist Party at that time or at any time prior thereto, and you have now refused to state whether or not that statement was untrue.

Mr. WITT. That is right.

(Hon. Richard M. Nixon entered hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. In the light of this evidence that is before the committee, do you still refuse to state whether or not your statement made on October 16, 1940, was true?

Mr. WITT. I still do, sir, on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Witt, when did you leave the AAA?

Mr. WITT. My best recollection, Mr. Walter, is that I left it in February 1934.

Mr. WALTER. Did others leave that agency at the same time?

Mr. WITT. I am not sure I understand the question, Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. You were then on the legal staff, were you not?

Mr. WITT. That is right.

Mr. WALTER. Did Mr. Pressman leave his employment at about the same time?

Mr. WITT. No; that is not my recollection. If you are asking whether other members of the legal staff left with me at that time, my recollection is "No," that I was the only one who left. There may have been some normal turn-overs, but I assume you are not talking about that.

Mr. WALTER. Any questions?

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you left voluntarily at that time?

Mr. WITT. I did. I testified to that this morning, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. Did you leave after Mr. Pressman left, or before?

Mr. WITT. My best recollection, Mr. Velde, is that I left before Mr. Pressman left.

Mr. VELDE. About how long before?

Mr. WITT. I would be guessing as to when he left. I would rather not guess about it. The records of the triple A will show those dates.

Mr. VELDE. You still remained in Washington immediately after you left, for some time?

Mr. WITT. Yes. I was with the Labor Board until 1940.

Mr. VELDE. Did you have contact with Mr. Pressman after you left the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. WITT. I am sorry, sir; I must decline to answer that question on the ground I have already stated.

Mr. VELDE. You are willing to admit you know Mr. Pressman and that you associated with him in the Department of Agriculture, but you refuse to testify to your acquaintanceship or relationship with him after that?

Mr. WITT. The records show I worked with Mr. Pressman.

Mr. VELDE. But did you have any associations with him after you left the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. WITT. I must still refuse to answer that, sir, on the same ground.

Mr. VELDE. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Charles Kramer.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Kramer, will you raise your right hand? You swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KRAMER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES KRAMER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD I. CAMMER

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your full name, please?

Mr. KRAMER. Charles Kramer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. KRAMER. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel identify himself for the record, please?

Mr. CAMMER. Harold I. Cammer, 9 East Fortieth Street, New York, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Kramer, what is your present address?

Mr. KRAMER. 2156 Cruger Avenue, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are appearing before the committee by virtue of the subpoena which I believe your counsel accepted service of for your appearance here today?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. KRAMER. I am a research economist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you speak a little louder, please. Will you furnish the committee with a résumé of your past employment?

Mr. KRAMER. In Government?

Mr. TAVENNER. Both in the Government and otherwise.

Mr. KRAMER. Upon completion of college I taught at New York University for about 4 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you speak a little louder, please? It is difficult to hear you.

Mr. KRAMER. I then worked for about 2 years for the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York, and then came to Washington and worked for the triple A for about a year and a half; then for the National Youth Administration; then for the Senate Civil Liberties Committee.

Mr. WALTER. What was the name of that?

Mr. KRAMER. The subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor called the Senate Civil Liberties Committee. Then for a year or so I worked for Messrs. Jett Lauck and——

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell those names, please?

Mr. KRAMER. J-e-t-t L-a-u-c-k and Mr. Van A. Bittner, B-i-t-t-n-e-r, of the United Mine Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Van. A. Bittner, of the United Mine Workers?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of that employment?

Mr. KRAMER. About 1937 and 1938. Then I worked for the National Labor Relations Board for about 3 years; and then for the Office of Price Administration for about a year and a half; and then for a subcommittee of the United States Senate Military Affairs Committee; then for a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. Subsequently I did independent research for a number of organizations and individuals and worked for the Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you begin work for the Progressive Party?

Mr. KRAMER. Sometime in 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did you continue in that employment?

Mr. KRAMER. For almost 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you used any other name than that of Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. My family name was Krevitsky. It was changed legally here in the District of Columbia in 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever used any name other than the name of Kramer or Krevitsky?

(At this point, Mr. Kramer and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer on the grounds that it might incriminate me, and I invoke the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the circumstances under which you obtained employment with the AAA?

Mr. KRAMER. I can't recall the exact circumstances. To the best of my knowledge, I applied at several agencies in Washington at that time. I talked to several people at the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were those that you talked to at AAA?

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Witt, whom I had known, and several people to whom he introduced me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you talk to Mr. Lee Pressman at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't have any recollection of talking to him about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the others to whom you were introduced by Mr. Witt?

MR. KRAMER. I think that Mr. Witt may have introduced me to the head of the Consumers Counsel at that time, Mr. Frederick Howe, H-o-w-e.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you recall others?

MR. KRAMER. I don't recall at the moment.

MR. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Witt recommend you for a position there?

MR. KRAMER. I believe he did.

MR. TAVENNER. You had known Mr. Witt for a considerable period of time, I believe?

MR. KRAMER. That is right.

MR. TAVENNER. You were in school together?

MR. KRAMER. That is right.

MR. TAVENNER. Had you known Mr. Lee Pressman prior to your employment with the AAA?

MR. KRAMER. I may have known him.

MR. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you became acquainted with him?

MR. KRAMER. I believe we had some friends in common at college.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you associated with him in any particular enterprise prior to your being employed at the AAA?

MR. KRAMER. I don't think so.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Harold Ware?

MR. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds I have given before.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mr. John Jacob Abt, and when did you make your acquaintanceship with him?

MR. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. WALTER. You have stated, each time that you have refused to answer, "I must decline." You don't have to decline to answer these questions. The Constitution of the United States gives you the right to decline.

(At this point, Mr. Kramer and Mr. Cammer confer.)

MR. KRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement that I would like to read to the committee at this point, if I may.

MR. WALTER. I don't think it will serve any purpose. We have read it, and we will see that it is placed in the record at this point.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF CHARLES KRAMER BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, SEPTEMBER 1, 1950

The Bill of Rights of our Constitution was adopted to protect the rights of individuals against infringement by Government. As in my previous testimony, I shall invoke the right against self-incrimination whenever I deem it applicable. I do not propose to surrender this right because a committee of Congress, for the first time in history, threatens to breach this right by contempt citations. Today, perhaps just as much as in 1789, it is important that people assert these basic rights, no matter how the current hysteria and dementia would subvert them.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Kramer, Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley testified before this committee in July 1948 that you were a member of an organized group within the United States Government which had furnished her with information which she conveyed to Jacob Golos, an agent of the Soviet Union. Is that statement true?

MR. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley?

MR. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Whittaker Chambers testified that you were one of a group of individuals, including Mr. Lee Pressman, Mr. Witt, and others, who joined a Communist Party cell here in the District of Columbia, and that he met on one occasion in the home of Henry Collins, who was also a member of that group, in the St. Matthew's Court Apartments, at which time you were present. Is that statement true?

MR. KRAMER. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. The testimony of both Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley and Whittaker Chambers has been confirmed by the testimony of Mr. Lee Pressman taken here this week that he was a member of such a Communist Party cell here in the District of Columbia and that you, while employed at the AAA with him, were a member of that group. Is that statement true?

MR. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of J. Peters, sometimes referred to as Alexander Stevens?

MR. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you ever present on any occasion, at any meeting, whether formal or informal, at which Mr. J. Peters was present?

MR. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. CAMMER. May it be understood, Mr. Chairman, that he is stating his declination to answer in a short way with your permission?

MR. WALTER. Let the record show that every time the witness states he refuses to answer "on the same ground" he is refusing to answer on the ground that he believes his constitutional rights protect him.

MR. CAMMER. Thank you.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Kramer, were you at any time acquainted with an individual known as David Wahl, W-a-h-l?

MR. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. In 1947 this committee held a series of hearings regarding communism in the motion-picture industry. Will you tell the committee whether you were in contact with David Wahl during the course of those hearings?

MR. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. In the course of those hearings, commonly referred to as the Hollywood hearings, were you in the city of Washington?

MR. KRAMER. I believe I was.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you at that time, while the hearings were being conducted or at any time from the beginning to the end of the hearings, in contact with an individual by the name of Max Lowenthal, in which the Hollywood hearings were discussed?

MR. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Alvah Bessie?

MR. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Ring Lardner, Jr.?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Dalton Trumbo?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Herbert Biberman?

Mr. KRAMER. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. John Howard Lawson?

Mr. KRAMER. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mr. Bartley Crum, one of the persons who represented the individuals being investigated by this committee during the course of the Hollywood hearings?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Irving Kaplan?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. CAMMER. May I consult with the witness a moment, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

(At this point, Mr. Kramer and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you any further statement that you desire to make?

Mr. KRAMER. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mr. James Roy Newman?

Mr. KRAMER. I am acquainted with a James Newman. I don't know the middle name.

Mr. TAVENNER. State the circumstances, if you will, under which you knew him.

Mr. KRAMER. If it is the same James Newman—I don't know if the middle name is the same——

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you meet him?

Mr. KRAMER. I believe he was a reporter or writer for one of the magazines——

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet him at the home of Monroe Stern?

Mr. KRAMER. No, I did not. I was about to answer the question when you engaged in a colloquy with your colleague. I believe I met him because he was a reporter or writer for a magazine who came to me while I was working for one of the Senate committees, while we were preparing a hearing of some sort.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the magazine?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall at the moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it the New Republic?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, I think it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am a little at a loss to understand, Mr. Kramer, why you refused to admit that you knew Mr. David Wahl. Your testimony before this committee on July 2, 1948, shows that you were asked the question by Mr. Russell, "Mr. Kramer, are you acquainted with Mr. David Wahl?" and you answered, "Yes."

Were you acquainted with Mr. Wahl? Was that a truthful statement you made when you testified here in 1948?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, it was a truthful statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it is true that you were acquainted with him?

Mr. KRAMER. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer with Mr. Wahl in connection with the defense, or rather the investigation that was being conducted by this committee, known as the Hollywood hearings?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was Mr. Wahl employed at that time?

Mr. CAMMER. You haven't fixed the time, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time of the Hollywood hearings in October 1947.

Mr. KRAMER. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where Mr. Wahl is now?

Mr. KRAMER. I believe he is working in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a series of meetings at the Shoreham Hotel during the period of the Hollywood hearings, at which Mr. Wahl was present?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is also difficult to understand why you refuse to answer the question of whether you have been acquainted with Mr. Max Lowenthal, in the light of your answer to the question when you were before the committee in July 1948, put by Mr. Russell, "Are you acquainted with Mr. Max Lowenthal?", to which you replied, "Yes." Was that a truthful statement when you made it?

Mr. KRAMER. It was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you have been acquainted with Mr. Max Lowenthal?

Mr. KRAMER. I have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Max Lowenthal present at any conference, or any one of a series of conferences, at the Shoreham Hotel in October 1947, during the course of the Hollywood hearings, at which you were present?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mr. Herbert Schimmel, S-c-h-i-m-m-e-l?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall attending a meeting with Mr. Herbert Schimmel where the United States policy on Greece was discussed?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no such recollection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with his views with regard to the United States policy toward Greece?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with the fact that the Communist Party, through its members, endeavored to influence the action of Congress in its legislation affecting Greece and Turkey? Were you acquainted with Communist Party activities in that regard?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know that the activities of the Communist Party in that regard extended even to solicitation of the rank and file of labor unions to influence that legislation through their Congressmen? Were you acquainted with that policy?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with the late Harry Dexter White?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your association with him?

Mr. KRAMER. I think that while I was on a Senate Committee we had some dealings with Mr. White in connection with some testimony that was to be prepared for the Subcommittee on War Mobilization.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in connection with your official duties at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any association with him outside of your official duties as a Government employee?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of your own knowledge of the furnishing of information or material to Whittaker Chambers by either Mr. White or any other person?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. The question probably should be divided. Do you know of your own knowledge of the furnishing of any material or information by Mr. White to Whittaker Chambers or any other person?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no such knowledge.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Mr. Chambers?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of your own knowledge of the furnishing of any material or information by any person other than Mr. White to or for Mr. Chambers?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mr. Martin Popper?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your acquaintanceship with him? Give us the circumstances.

Mr. KRAMER. Largely a social acquaintanceship.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of time did you know him?

Mr. KRAMER. Some 3 or 4 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. And where was he living at that time?

Mr. KRAMER. Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you also acquainted with Victor Perlo?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time furnish any information of any description to Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive any information from Edward Fitzgerald to be passed on to Elizabeth T. Bentley or any other person?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Harold Glasser?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you have indicated that you were acquainted with Monroe Stern. Am I correct in that?

Mr. KRAMER. You didn't ask me the direct question, but that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you assist Monroe Stern in the preparation of a book entitled "The Case Against Archbishop Stepinac"?

Mr. KRAMER. I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Louise Bransten, also known as Louise Berman?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Solomon Adler?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. There has been testimony here by Mr. Lee Pressman that Harold Ware was killed in an automobile accident, and shortly thereafter a meeting was held at which Mr. Pressman was present, you were present, and Mr. Abt was present. Do you recall any such meeting?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the occasion of Mr. Ware's death?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Richard Bransten?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with William Walter Remington?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Maurice Halperin?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Jack Abbott, A-b-b-o-t-t?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; I believe I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the circumstances under which you were acquainted with him?

Mr. KRAMER. I think he may have applied for a job with a committee with which I was working, and I met him at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry, I did not understand your full reply.

Mr. KRAMER. I said I think that he may have applied for a job with a committee with which I was working, and I think I met him at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he make his application through you?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know him prior to that time?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no recollection of knowing him prior to that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he given a position?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't think so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you met him since that time?

Mr. KRAMER. No; I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the year 1944, did you attend a meeting along with Victor Perlo, Nathan Witt, and John Abt, which was arranged by Earl Browder, who was then general secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have occasion to visit the State of California?

Mr. KRAMER. Several times.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you there?

Mr. KRAMER. In 1934 and again in 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were there in 1946, where did you reside?

Mr. KRAMER. I frankly don't remember the address. I know it was some place in Glendale.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it at the home of William and Edwina Pomerantz at 2342 Bancroft, Los Angeles?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were they known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. While in Los Angeles on this trip, did you visit Nemmy Sparks?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet Pauline Lauber Finn while you were in California in 1946?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet Aubrey Finn?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. In November 1946 did you have a meeting with Harry Magdoff, Victor Perlo, and Irving Kaplan?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had occasion to write an article or a speech in which you urged that the atomic secret should be given to Russia?

Mr. KRAMER. To the best of my recollection, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you in doubt about that?

Mr. KRAMER. I said to the best of my recollection, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet Albert E. Blumberg in November 1947?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were living in Washington, were you a member of the Washington Book Shop?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Washington Book Shop, regardless of where you were living?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Kramer, when did you last see Mr. Pressman?

Mr. KRAMER. Sometime last year. I don't remember when.

Mr. WALTER. Where?

Mr. KRAMER. In New York.

Mr. WALTER. Your relations were entirely friendly, were they not?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. And during the period when you and he were working together for the Government you were close friends, were you not?

(At this point, Mr. Kramer and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, more or less.

Mr. WALTER. Yes. In order to avoid any embarrassment, let us put it this way: you were personal friends; is that the fact?

Mr. KRAMER. Beg pardon?

Mr. WALTER. You were personal friends?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. And you have always considered Mr. Pressman to be your friend. You have never quarreled with him. Is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. More or less, I suppose.

Mr. WALTER. Yes. Then what reason could Mr. Pressman have for coming before this committee and under oath testifying that you and he were members of the same Communist Party cell if it wasn't true?

(At this point, Mr. Kramer and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. KRAMER. I can scarcely answer for Mr. Pressman on that.

Mr. WALTER. Well, if you were friends, can you imagine any reason why he would come before this committee and testify under oath falsely about his friend?

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Walter, I am not an expert on abnormal psychology. I have no idea.

Mr. NIXON. What kind of psychology?

Mr. KRAMER. Abnormal psychology. I have no idea.

Mr. WALTER. Can you think of any reason—not as a psychologist or expert but as an individual—why your friend would come here and commit perjury about you?

Mr. KRAMER. I can think of plenty of reasons.

Mr. WALTER. Beg pardon?

Mr. KRAMER. I said I can think of plenty of reasons.

Mr. WALTER. Could one of them be that Mr. Pressman realizes that the American way is in danger and that he feels that he can make a contribution toward the preservation of our Republic by doing what he did—and it took some courage for him to do it, I might add. Could that be one of the reasons why he came here?

(At this point, Mr. Kramer and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. KRAMER. I am not in a position to speculate as to what his reasons are, Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. You said you knew many reasons. I was just suggesting one.

Mr. KRAMER. There would still be considerable speculation.

Mr. NIXON. When you used the term "abnormal psychology" you meant you were surprised at what Mr. Pressman did?

Mr. KRAMER. Not entirely.

Mr. NIXON. Not entirely?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. NIXON. Did you discuss it with him before he came down?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. WALTER. Isn't it a fact Mr. Pressman did discuss with you what he was going to do, and endeavor to prevail upon you that the right thing to do at this hour was to do just what he did?

(Hon. John S. Wood entered the hearing room.)

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. WALTER. And didn't Mr. Pressman point out to you that communism is not what he thought it was, and that he felt that you would be making a great contribution if you would join with him and assist the Congress of the United States in endeavoring to bring home to the people what communism really is, and didn't you refuse to go along with him on that?

(At this point, Mr. Kramer and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. KRAMER. The answer to that is "No."

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Pressman did endeavor to prevail upon you to come before this committee with him, didn't he?

Mr. KRAMER. The answer to that is "No."

Mr. WALTER. Did he point out to you that he was going to do it and he thought it would be a good idea if others did the same thing?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. WALTER. Just what did he say?

Mr. KRAMER. I told you that the last time I had seen Mr. Pressman was quite some time ago. I don't recall what he may have said at that time, frankly. It was nothing to the effect of the questions that you have asked.

Mr. WALTER. Has he talked to you since the Korean incident, let us call it?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. WALTER. He has not?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. WALTER. Has he talked to you over the telephone about it?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. NIXON. A moment ago, in answer to a question by Mr. Walter, you said that there were plenty of reasons why Mr. Pressman might come here and commit perjury about you. I understand from that that you say he did commit perjury about you. Is that right?

Mr. KRAMER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. Reading your statement, Mr. Kramer, I note your grave concern over the Bill of Rights of our Constitution and the necessity of defending it. I presume you mean what you said in the statement?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Do you believe the Constitution should be defended against all enemies of the country?

Mr. KRAMER. I do.

Mr. NIXON. You believe that every step should be taken against, for example, espionage activities within the country, don't you?

Mr. KRAMER. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever engaged in any such activities yourself?

Mr. KRAMER. I have not.

Mr. NIXON. Have you any information about such activities?

Mr. KRAMER. I have none.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever given any material that you obtained in your Government position to an unauthorized person?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. You just said you had never engaged in any espionage activities of any type.

Mr. KRAMER. That is exactly what I said.

Mr. NIXON. You said you had never given any material to an unauthorized person?

Mr. KRAMER. If the implication of your present question is espionage, the answer is there was none. The term "material" is so broad. The chairman, at the beginning of the session, read a newspaper article which dealt, it seems to me, with unauthorized material. The term "unauthorized material" in your question is similarly broad. My answer to that question is still that I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. If you say the use of the term is too broad, how would you describe it? The implication in your answer is that you may have given some unauthorized material. Is that right?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. Have you given any classified material to any person not connected with the Government?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. WALTER. Anything further?

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kramer, were you ever associated with or a member of or have any connection with the staff of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee?

Mr. KRAMER. I was a member of the staff.

Mr. WOOD. For how long?

Mr. KRAMER. About a year.

Mr. WOOD. Do you recall the dates?

Mr. KRAMER. 1936 to 1937, I believe.

Mr. WOOD. That is all.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Kramer, I noticed in certain instances you admitted your acquaintanceship with certain individuals, and in other cases you denied your acquaintanceship, and in other cases you declined to answer on the ground your answer might incriminate you. What is the distinction between your acquaintanceship with different people?

Mr. KRAMER. I think that lies within my discretion.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever signed a non-Communist oath of any kind?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever attended any Communist Party meetings known by you to be such?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever carry a Communist Party membership card?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. Have you had any personal contact in any way—by mail, by telephone, or otherwise—with Lee Pressman in the last 6 months?

Mr. KRAMER. I may have. I don't recollect.

Mr. VELDE. Did you have any contact through any other individual with Mr. Pressman?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't believe so.

Mr. VELDE. That is all.

Mr. NIXON. Did I understand you to say you had not seen Mr. Pressman personally for a year? Is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. I think the last time I saw him was last year.

Mr. NIXON. And you saw him on that occasion where?

Mr. KRAMER. As I recall it was lunch, with perhaps several other people present.

Mr. NIXON. Let me ask you about Mr. Abt. You know Mr. Abt?

Mr. KRAMER. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Have you discussed with Mr. Abt the possibility of your making a statement similar to the one Mr. Pressman made when he appeared here on Monday?

Mr. KRAMER. I have not.

Mr. NIXON. Have you discussed that with Mr. Witt?

Mr. KRAMER. I have not.

Mr. NIXON. When you saw Mr. Pressman a year ago, you say he did not discuss with you the possibility of his or your breaking with the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. You are a loyal American citizen, Mr. Kramer. I assume that from your statement.

Mr. KRAMER. I am, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Can a man be a loyal American and a Communist at the same time?

Mr. KRAMER. I believe he can.

Mr. NIXON. You believe he can. Do you believe that what the Communists are engaging in in the United States at the present time in regard to the United Nations action in Korea is consistent with loyalty to the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't know what all those activities are.

Mr. NIXON. You certainly have read of their stand in the Daily Worker and other Communist publications, have you not?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. Or perhaps you read of their attitude in the statement Mr. Abt has given the committee?

(At this point, Mr. Kramer and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. NIXON. In which he says that the undeclared war that this Government is waging in Korea violates the interest of the American people. Do you subscribe to that position?

Mr. KRAMER. If you will leave off the last part and ask do I subscribe to the position that the present adventure in Korea is against the interest of the United States, I would say I do. So does Mr. Walter Lippmann.

Mr. NIXON. There might be a little difference between Mr. Lippmann and yourself in that respect. If you were drafted to serve in the war against Communist aggressors in Korea at this time, would you serve?

Mr. KRAMER. I would have to decide at that time.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Lippmann has made his decision. I understand it is usually a part of the tactics of people in your position to drag in other people. You have not yet decided whether, if you were drafted to serve in the Army of the United States, you would serve?

Mr. KRAMER. That is a question I will have to decide at that time.

Mr. NIXON. You would have to make the decision when the question was presented to you?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. How do you feel about it at the present time?

Mr. KRAMER. I hadn't thought about it.

Mr. VELDE. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. John Abt.

Mr. WALTER. Hold up your right hand, please. You swear the testimony you are about to give this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ABT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN J. ABT, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD I. CAMMER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. ABT. John J. Abt, A-b-t.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are represented here by the same counsel who is representing Mr. Witt and Mr. Kramer?

Mr. ABT. I am, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are appearing before this committee in response to a subpoena which was served on you, I believe?

Mr. ABT. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please give the committee a brief outline of your educational background?

Mr. ABT. Before I do that I should like to request from the chairman an opportunity to read a statement which I have prepared for presentation here, which is quite brief.

Mr. WALTER. We will put it in the record at this point and it will be made a part of your remarks.

Mr. ABT. Inasmuch as you accorded to the witness who appeared here on Monday, and who I take it is responsible for my being recalled this afternoon, an opportunity to make a preliminary statement, it would seem to me, in all fairness, the same opportunity should be accorded to me.

Mr. WALTER. I didn't make the ruling in that case, but I rule on your request this afternoon.

Mr. ABT. I understand the statement will appear in the record at this point?

Mr. WALTER. It will.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF JOHN J. ART BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, SEPTEMBER 1, 1950

As the committee is aware, I appeared, in response to a subpoena, before a subcommittee of your committee, just 2 years ago.

At that time, I declined, on constitutional grounds, to answer many of the questions that were asked.

From the press accounts of the committee hearings this week, it is evident that you have subpoenaed me today to propound the same questions which I declined to answer in August 1948.

The committee should know—and if it does not, I so advise you now—that my position with respect to these questions has not changed in the slightest degree since the date of my previous appearance. On the contrary, events have served to confirm and deepen the convictions I then held.

It is therefore clear that the purpose of the committee in recalling me at this time, to put questions I have previously declined to answer, is not and cannot be to elicit information for legitimate legislative objectives. It can only be for the punitive purpose of laying the foundation for a contempt citation.

It is therefore my intention, in the course of this examination—and I so advise the committee at the outset—to assert every right granted me by the Constitution and to make every constitutional objection which I deem well founded to the questions put by the committee.

Under ordinary circumstances, it would be both strange and unnecessary for a witness before a congressional committee to explain his reasons for invoking constitutional guaranties which are the birthright of every American.

The fact that today a witness before your committee is impelled to do so is a measure of how far agencies of Government have transgressed the principles for which the founding fathers fought our Revolution and which a victorious people wrote into the Bill of Rights.

Your committee has chosen to brand the assertion of constitutional rights as disloyal, and evidence of what it calls "un-Americanism."

From its inception, your committee has nullified the first amendment. Recently, it has taken the further step of stripping witnesses of the protection of the fifth amendment, and so far perverted constitutional history as to suggest that assertion of the privilege secured by that amendment is itself evidence of crime.

It is a sorry commentary on the state of constitutional liberties in America that it should be necessary to remind a committee of the Congress that the great constitutional guaranty against involuntary self-accusation had its origin in the struggle against the hateful star chamber of the British Crown. It was to make certain that no American should ever again be subjected to such tyrannical inquisitions that this guaranty was written into the fifth amendment.

It is therefore a gross violation of the very right that the fifth amendment was designed to protect, to imply that its invocation is evidence of guilt. It was embodied in the Constitution, not to shield the guilty, but for the high purpose of protecting the innocent against exactly the kind of star chamber proceedings in which this committee has so long engaged.

Today, it is perhaps more important than at any time in our history that every truly loyal American reassert these simple constitutional truths with all the vigor, stubbornness, and tenacity at his command.

For, today, the course upon which the Government of our country has embarked threatens catastrophe for the Nation and its people. The undeclared war it is waging in Korea, at a heavy cost in American life, and its military intervention in the internal affairs of China, violate the interest of the American people and threaten the peace of the world. The mounting billions it is spending for domestic and foreign armaments are not buying us friends or firm allies. Instead, American efforts to bolster rotten reactionary regimes and stem the tide of the liberation movement in colonial countries are earning for us the enmity of hundreds of millions of common people throughout the world.

The people of our own country are paying the cost of these senseless adventures and will pay yet more heavily in the days to come—with the lives of their sons; with their living standards and welfare; with their democratic liberties. If this course is continued, it will destroy every value that the American people have stood for and worked to achieve since the birth of our Nation. It can end only in the disaster of a war of atomic annihilation.

I am confident that, despite the efforts to silence all opposition, the peace-loving, democratic spirit of the American people will assert itself against these policies and reverse them.

The Bill of Rights guarantees the full and free expression of the popular will, so that every act of government shall at all times and under every circumstance be subject to the corrective force of an enlightened public opinion.

The assault on the Bill of Rights that we are witnessing today is not a sign of strength, but evidences the fatal weakness of a government that no longer dares submit itself to the freely expressed judgment of a fully informed people.

Each article in the Bill of Rights therefore becomes a bastion in the fight for peace in the world and freedom and security for America. Ist defense against all those who would abridge or subvert it is the first duty of every citizen.

To the best of my ability, then, I shall follow the precept of Thomas Jefferson, who wrote:

"It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own. It behooves him, too, in his own case, to give no example of concession, betraying the common right of independent opinion, by answering questions of faith, which the laws have left between God and himself."

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question as to your educational background?

Mr. ABT. I gave that when I was before the committee 2 years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe there is only one person, or maybe two, on the committee now who were on the committee at that time.

Mr. ABT. I will be glad to repeat the information I gave the committee 2 years ago.

I was born in Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1904. I attended the Chicago schools. I received my A. B. degree from the University of Chicago in 1924, and my law degree from the University of Chicago in 1926.

I practiced law in the city of Chicago from 1927 to 1933, specializing in real estate and corporate matters.

I came to Washington in the fall of 1933 to enter the Federal service. I was employed as an attorney in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and became the chief of the litigation section of that agency. I resigned from the Department of Agriculture I believe in the spring or summer of 1935 and accepted employment as assistant general counsel of the Works Progress Administration.

Sometime in the fall or winter of the same year I was loaned by the Works Progress Administration to the Securities and Exchange Commission for the purpose of assisting in the preparation of litigation under the Public Utilities Holding Company Act.

I worked on that job until sometime in the late spring or early summer of 1936, at which time the work was finished. I then accepted employment as chief counsel of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor investigating civil liberties, under Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr. I resigned in early 1937 and became a special assistant to the Attorney General in charge of the trial section of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice.

I resigned from the Government service during the summer of 1938, went to New York, and accepted employment as special counsel to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. I continued in that capacity until January 1948, at which time I resigned to become the general counsel of the Progressive Party, a position I now hold.

I think that covers it, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the circumstances, please, under which you were employed with the AAA, how you obtained the position which you occupied in that agency?

Mr. ABT. Yes. I came to Washington originally on an offer that I received from Secretary of the Interior Ickes, to accept employment in the Public Works Administration. On my arrival in Washington I

spoke to Mr. Jerome Frank, now Judge Frank, with whom I had been associated in the practice of law in Chicago, and Mr. Frank suggested that I join the legal staff of the triple A, which I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity did you work on the legal staff of the AAA?

Mr. ABT. First as an attorney and later as Chief of the Litigation Section, but at all times primarily on litigation matters of the triple A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Mr. Lee Pressman prior to your employment at AAA?

Mr. ABT. My recollection is that I met him socially once or twice in Chicago prior to my employment with triple A.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did you know Mr. Kramer prior to your employment there?

Mr. ABT. No; I did not know Mr. Kramer prior to my employment at triple A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know an individual by the name of Harold Ware?

Mr. ABT. Mr. Chairman, at this point, if I may, I should like to enter a continuing objection to any question dealing with my opinions or my associations, on the grounds that such questions violate my rights under the first amendment to the Constitution, and I should like to have that appear as a continuing objection to all questions dealing with such matters. If the Chair does not sustain that objection—and I take it from previous actions of the committee that it will not rule on such objection—I shall decline to answer in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. Then, as I understand, every time you refuse to answer a question it is because of what you think your constitutional rights are?

Mr. ABT. Yes, sir; and perhaps I should indicate on those occasions I am invoking my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. It is understood your refusal to answer will be on the ground of what you believe your rights to be under the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. ABT. I would like to put it this way, that when I say "the same grounds" or "for the reasons previously stated," it means that I object to the question because of my rights under the first amendment, and that objection not having been sustained, I therefore decline to answer the question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. Very well.

You say you resigned your position with triple A in 1935?

Mr. ABT. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Who was general counsel at that time?

Mr. ABT. That was subsequent to the time that Mr. Frank left the triple A, and as I recall—I am not certain of this—Mr. Wenchel was then general counsel of triple A.

Mr. WALTER. Was it not a man who is now a member of the Federal Reserve Board?

Mr. ABT. No. You are thinking of Chester Davis, who was Administrator of triple A.

Mr. WALTER. Was he Administrator at the time you left triple A?

Mr. ABT. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Who left at the time you did?

Mr. ABT. To my knowledge no one did.

Mr. WALTER. Did Mr. Pressman leave at that time?

Mr. ABT. No. Mr. Pressman and Mr. Frank left earlier. When I subsequently presented my resignation to Mr. Chester Davis, he informed me he would like me to continue, and that the departure of Mr. Frank and Mr. Pressman was in no way directed to me or my work.

Mr. WALTER. Did he not tell you at that time that Mr. Wallace was anxious that a number of people in the Department of Agriculture leave, because he felt they were more interested in social matters than agricultural problems?

Mr. ABT. No. Mr. Frank's and Mr. Pressman's resignations were requested, I believe, sometime in the winter of 1935. My resignation was not requested at that time and was never subsequently requested.

Mr. WALTER. But Mr. Pressman's resignation was requested by Mr. Wallace, along with who else's, do you remember?

Mr. ABT. Mr. Pressman, Mr. Frank, Mr. Gardner Jackson, and Mr. Francis M. Shay, I believe.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Wallace requested that they resign because he felt they were not interested in agriculture but were interested in things he did not think it proper for his employees to be interested in?

Mr. ABT. He requested their resignations.

Mr. WALTER. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Pressman has testified recently before this committee that he was recruited into the Communist Party by Harold Ware. He stated he was thereafter requested to attend a meeting, and at that meeting he found present when he arrived, you and Mr. Kramer. Is that correct?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mr. Kramer at that time?

Mr. ABT. What time?

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were employed in the AAA?

Mr. ABT. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chambers has testified before this committee that you were a member of this same Communist Party cell. Were you acquainted with Mr. Chambers?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Pressman has testified that a man by the name of J. Peters, sometimes known as Alexander Stevens, furnished literature and material to you and to him and to Mr. Kramer. Did you know Mr. Peters?

Mr. ABT. Mr. Tavenner, I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive any Communist Party literature or pamphlets from any individual at any group meeting which you attended?

Mr. ABT. That question, I think, is a loaded question, because it implies I attended a group meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time have Communist Party literature delivered to you?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a group meeting of the Communist Party or any cell thereof?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question also on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Elizabeth T. Bentley has testified also of meeting with a group in the District of Columbia, including Henry Collins, yourself, Mr. Pressman, Mr. Kramer, and others. Do you recall attending any meeting at which she was present?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated, and I would like to add to my answer at this point, if I may, just this: I am not aware whether or not in the records of the committee there is any charge against me by any witness of having committed acts of espionage, but I would like to take this opportunity, unreservedly and unqualifiedly, to say I have never engaged in any acts of espionage, and to deny any charges to that effect which may be lodged in committee records, either expressly or by implication.

Mr. Chairman, does the committee mind if I smoke?

Mr. WALTER. No, sir. I am setting the example.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had occasion to be associated with Mr. Lee Pressman since you severed your connection with the AAA?

Mr. ABT. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the circumstances?

Mr. ABT. I served with Mr. Pressman in the WPA, where he for a time was general counsel and I was assistant general counsel; and subsequent to that time, when I was special counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and he was general counsel of the CIO, we had frequent meetings and dealings on matters of common interest. Subsequent to that time I have also met and discussed matters with Mr. Pressman relating to the work of the Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were other people in the conferences that you had with Mr. Pressman relating to the Progressive Party?

Mr. ABT. Relating to the Progressive Party?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. ABT. Yes, of course. Mr. Pressman at one time was a member of the national committee of the Progressive Party, and also a member of the platform committee of the Progressive Party, on which I served too.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Simon Gerson attend any of those meetings at which you and Mr. Pressman were present?

Mr. ABT. Mr. Gerson, I believe, is a newspaper reporter. He may have been around some of those meetings. I really don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what his connection is with the Communist Party?

Mr. ABT. I have no direct information; no, sir. I assume he is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall his presence at any time in any conference between you and Mr. Pressman?

Mr. ABT. As I say, I do not recall; which is not to say that it might not have been possible. I simply do not recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Simon Gerson discuss with you at any time the Communist Party line which he desired to inject into the Progressive Party?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question on the grounds I previously stated, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. WALKER. Why do you feel that that would incriminate you, Mr. Abt?

Mr. ABT. I believe you are a lawyer?

Mr. WALTER. A member of the bar.

Mr. ABT. I think we still both remember our course in constitutional law sufficiently to know that is not a proper question to ask a witness who invokes his privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. You said you assumed Simon Gerson was a member of the Communist Party. Why did you make that assumption?

Mr. ABT. Because of his public activities on behalf of the Communist Party.

(At this point, Mr. Abt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. ABT. Mr. Cammer advises me that Mr. Gerson is legislative representative of the Communist Party in New York.

Mr. VELDE. You have had no personal contact with him, however, that would lead you to believe he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ABT. I think I will decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you married?

Mr. ABT. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your wife's name?

Mr. ABT. Jessica.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she formerly the wife of Harold Ware?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Jessica Smith Ware? Were you acquainted with Jessica Smith Ware?

Mr. ABT. It smells to me like a trick question, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated, since it attempts to accomplish by indirection the same result that you attempted to accomplish by the previous question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting of any kind at the home of Victor Perlo in Arlington, Va.?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I possibly should have asked you first if you know a Victor Perlo?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question also on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Henry Collins?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been acquainted with Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Nathan Silvermaster?

Mr. ABT. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Gerald Graze?

Mr. ABT. Mr. Tavenner, reserving the continuing objection which I have noted previously as to any inquiry into my personal associations, under the first amendment, and assuming that objection is not sustained, I will state that I do not recall the name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges in the Department of Justice while you were a member of the staff of the Department of Justice?

Mr. ABT. To the best of my recollection they were not, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time seek any confidential information relating to the Harry Bridges case from any employee of the Department of Justice?

Mr. ABT. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did anyone ever ask you to obtain any information from the Department of Justice relating to the Harry Bridges deportation proceedings?

Mr. ABT. I don't recollect any such request having been made of me, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Charles S. Flato?

Mr. ABT. I believe that I have met Mr. Flato, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever discuss with him the matter of the deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges?

Mr. ABT. It is very difficult to give a categorical answer to that, Mr. Tavenner. To the best of my recollection I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you reside during the year 1944?

Mr. ABT. 444 Central Park, West; my present place of residence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was a Communist Party meeting ever held in your apartment during the year 1944?

(Hon. Francis E. Walter left the hearing room.)

Mr. ABT. On the grounds previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Harry Magdoff?

Mr. ABT. On the grounds previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Edward Fitzgerald?

Mr. ABT. For the reasons previously stated, I refuse to answer that question also.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with David Wheeler?

Mr. ABT. David Wheeler?

Mr. TAVENNER. David Niven Wheeler.

Mr. ABT. I don't recall the name, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with William Remington?

Mr. ABT. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mary Price?

Mr. ABT. On the grounds previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Duncan Lee?

Mr. ABT. On the same grounds, I decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Maurice Halperin?

Mr. ABT. I believe I may have met Mr. Halperin. I am not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us the circumstances of your acquaintanceship with him?

Mr. ABT. If I met him, it was a very casual social meeting.

(Hon. Francis E. Walter returned to hearing room.)

Mr. ABT. (continuing). Pardon me. Thinking back, I may have that Halperin name confused with another Halperin. Can you give me some other identification of the man?

Mr. TAVENNER. He was with OSS.

Mr. ABT. No, to the best of my recollection I do not know the man.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Robert T. Miller III of the State Department?

Mr. ABT. I don't recall the name, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with Helen Tenney, T-e-n-n-e-y?

Mr. ABT. You are doubling up on your questions again, it seems to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Helen Tenney?

Mr. ABT. To the best of my knowledge I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Willard Park?

Mr. ABT. To my knowledge I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Any questions? Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. No.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. WALTER. Anything further, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WALTER. The committee stands adjourned until Wednesday morning, September 6, at 10:30.

(Thereupon, at 4 p. m., on Friday, September 1, 1950, an adjournment was taken until Wednesday, September 6, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 2

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

A subcommittee of one of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Morgan M. Moulder presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Morgan M. Moulder, Richard M. Nixon (arriving as noted), and Harold H. Velde (arriving as noted).

Staff members present: Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. MOULDER. Have the record show that this hearing is conducted in executive session by Morgan M. Moulder, a member of the committee, as a subcommittee of one, as directed and authorized by the Honorable John S. Wood, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Would you hold up your right hand and be sworn, please. You solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MAX LOWENTHAL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BURTON K. WHEELER

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Max Lowenthal.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. 1888, Minneapolis, Minn.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. 467 Central Park West, New York; and New Milford, Conn.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Lowenthal, you are appearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities in response to a subpoena which was accepted by your counsel, Mr. Wheeler?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I assume so.

¹ Testimony taken in executive session, herewith released with unanimous approval of the committee.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, do you want Mr. Wheeler to identify himself for the record?

Mr. WHEELER. I have already done that. Burton K. Wheeler, Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Lowenthal, would you furnish the committee with an outline of your employment background, particularly with the United States Government?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Well, let's work it backward.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you wish to fix some date in connection with that, Mr. Russell, how far back you want him to go?

Mr. RUSSELL. I don't think there is too much of it.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. In 1912 I became law secretary to Judge Julian W. Mack. He was a United States circuit judge. I served there about a year.

In 1917 I was a clerk attached to a foreign mission for a few months.

Mr. WHEELER. What mission was that?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. It was a confidential mission that I don't care to go into. It was only for a short time, and I never discuss that kind of Government work with anybody.

In 1917, later that year, I was secretary of the President's Mediation Commission.

In 1918 I was assistant to the Chairman of the War Labor Policies Board.

Sometime in 1920 I was assistant secretary of the Second President's Industrial Conference, which was appointed either by President Wilson or by Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, I think the former.

Mr. Chairman, that is a long time ago. There are a lot of details I don't remember.

Mr. WHEELER. Was that the Taft Board?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No. You are talking about the Taft-Walsh Labor Board. I wasn't connected with that, I don't think.

In 1929 I was appointed executive secretary of the Wickersham Commission, which was called the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement.

Mr. WHEELER. Who was the Chairman of that?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. George W. Wickersham.

Mr. WHEELER. He was the one who appointed you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. There were five members who knew me, and I presume they all sat in on it, but he was the man I suppose I knew the best.

In 1935 I was appointed counsel to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce in an inquiry relating to railroads and railroad holding companies and affiliated companies.

Wait a minute. In 1933 I was a consultant or something or other connected with the United States Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

Sometime along about those years—and I wouldn't remember just when—I was called down to consult with or to advise several other Senate committees, but those were just temporary, passing things.

In 1942 I was appointed to the staff of the Board of Economic Warfare.

Mr. WHEELER. What year was it you came to work with the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. In 1935, and I was with that job pretty continuously until I left for this work. I left the Senate committee with the approval of its chairman, Senator Wheeler.

In 1942 or 1943 there was some kind of problem, it is not quite clear in my mind; there was a war commission, I don't remember its name; it was headed by Mr. McNutt.

Mr. WHEELER. Paul McNutt?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes, Paul McNutt. I was sworn to assist them for a very temporary period on something or other, trying to straighten out some difficulties among some men who were not part of the Government.

Mr. Chairman, I wouldn't remember these things too definitely, and anything any records would show that would correct me, I would accept those corrections.

Toward the end of 1943 or early 1944 I left that work. During all that period and since that period I have been consulted informally by various people in the Government, but so far as I can recollect at this moment, I don't think ever in any official capacity. There might be some, and I would be very glad to have those noted for the record.

Mr. MOULDER. Were you compensated for those services?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Oh, no. Wait a minute. In 1946—this is an indication of how one's memory slips on these things—I went to Germany. I don't remember my exact title. I believe I was called an adviser or special adviser on restitution of stolen property. My recollection is I was there a month or 4 weeks, and then I came back. I never returned.

There may be one or two other things. I would like to make it clear I would be very glad to have any gaps or errors in this, that your committee has, noted on the record. I don't remember. It goes back 38 years, and that is a long time.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. While you were in Germany, were you associated with General Clay?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. He was, as I remember it, either the head of the American civil administration in the American zone of Germany, or General McNarney was the head and General Clay was the next in command. There was a period when General McNarney was there, and I wouldn't be sure which of the two, but in my work, insofar as I dealt with either of them, it was with General Clay. I did not deal with General McNarney.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was that an appointment under the War Department?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I think it was.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who recommended your employment by the War Department?

(Hon. Richard M. Nixon entered hearing room.)

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I couldn't say for certain. I was asked by a group of organizations whether I would permit my name to be submitted for recommendation by General Clay, and I agreed. On the other hand, I had known the Secretary of War for I think more than 30 years rather intimately. That was Secretary Patterson. I wouldn't know whether he had anything to do with it in the way of recommendation. I just wouldn't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you acquainted with David Wahl?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I was.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he one of those who recommended your appointment to a position in the War Department?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. He was Washington representative of one of these organizations which asked me to serve.

Mr. RUSSELL. How long were you acquainted with David Wahl?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Well, either I first met him in 1942 or in 1943, so far as I can remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you meet him?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. My best recollection of that at the present is this: I had been asked to organize a division of the Board of Economic Warfare sometime in the summer or fall of 1942. My recollection is that he came in to see me. Whether he came in on his own or was sent in by the Civil Service Commission or any other agency, I wouldn't know; I wouldn't remember; but as far as I recollect that would be the first time that I ever saw him.

Mr. WHEELER. I think it might be well for you to tell who the heads of the other organizations were who asked you to permit them to submit your name.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I was asked to a luncheon at the Biltmore Hotel, or it might have been the Commodore, in New York. There were representatives of five organizations there. They told me they had received a cable and had been asked to submit several suggestions of names of corporation lawyers of some ability, and would I be willing to have my name submitted.

It was a very nice lunch, a very nice talk, I knew some of the people there, had known them before, and I said yes. However, I did not commit myself to any long stay, and when I returned after 4 weeks or a month or so, it wasn't definite that I wouldn't go back, but I didn't go back.

Mr. RUSSELL. Why did you return from Germany?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Well, there were many motives, I suppose, in my mind. For one thing, I didn't like being there. I was away from my family. I had been sick part of the time. The places were bombed out. The Americans were in the position of a colonial government, in a way. I didn't like the whole atmosphere. People were very nice to me in the administration; they were very fine people. I think I must have been in the middle or late fifties. I didn't care to be away from my family. I imagine that had some weight with me. On the other hand, I had sized up the matter pretty well. There were formalities involved with the law, and drafting the law. I was not myself a draftsman. I didn't care to go in for drafting work. You had to discuss this with the War and State Departments, unless they would O. K. it.

The long and short of it was I did come back, and though I didn't say I would not return, General Clay was over here a little later and I told him I would rather that someone take my place. There may have been other considerations of a personal nature, but I really didn't like being over there in my time of life.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did anyone request you to return from Germany, or was your return your own voluntary action?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. My own voluntary action. I wouldn't want to say that my wife didn't want me back, I think she probably did, but I don't remember whether she said so.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was David Wahl one of those who attended the luncheon in New York at the time you were asked to file for this position?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't know, but I doubt it. I think it was the higher-ups of the organizations who were there.

(Hon. Richard M. Nixon left hearing room.)

Mr. WHEELER. There were five organizations?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes. I would doubt he had stature sufficient to attend such a luncheon. These were the top people, as I remember. There might have been some people further down in the ranks from these organizations; I don't remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you acquainted with Alger Hiss?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you acquainted with Donald Hiss?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever discuss with David Wahl the possibility of having Alger and Donald Hiss invest funds in radio station WQQW here in Washington, which was at one time known as the Metropolitan Broadcasting Corp.?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I wouldn't have any recollection, but I would be surprised if I did. I wouldn't know anything about that. If you have any information to the contrary, put it on the record.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you fix any approximate date, Mr. Russell, when such conversation is alleged to have been had?

Mr. RUSSELL. In Washington, D. C., during the early part of 1946.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, if there is any information to that effect I will be very glad to accept it, but I have no recollection of it and I should very much question whether such a thing happened.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did David Wahl ever discuss with you the possibility of having any person invest funds in any radio station?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't remember; I don't remember. I was never a subscriber to any radio station, and I don't think I have invested—wait a minute. I think our family had some RCA stock; I think so.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Russell, can you refresh his recollection in any way?

Mr. RUSSELL. At the time this corporation was formed there were a lot of stockholders, and the station has been the subject of some of our investigations.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, I am pretty confident I never owned any stock in that company. If I may complete my answer, I was going to say I never owned any stock, nor did any of my family, in any radio company, but I want to qualify that. There may be companies on the New York Stock Exchange or the Curb which had to do with radio, directly or indirectly, A. T. & T., RCA, and so on, which we undoubtedly had shares in. What is the name of this company?

Mr. RUSSELL. Metropolitan Broadcasting Corp., also known as WQQW.

Mr. MOULDER. You might ask if he recalls any conversation with David Wahl about the purchase of any stock in a radio station.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. If I were recommending that somebody else buy stock in it, I would naturally have bought stock myself. I wouldn't put somebody else in some security that I wouldn't go into. But I

want to repeat, Mr. Chairman, I don't claim to have the best of memories, now nor for some years past, even as far back as 1935, and if you have any information to the contrary of anything I say, I will be glad to accept it; I just don't know.

Mr. WHEELER. When was the conversation supposed to be?

Mr. RUSSELL. It would be hard to fix. In the first place, the persons who invested in this corporation did not do so hoping to make a return on their investment. There were many conversations with many individuals, and altogether there were approximately 100 stockholders. The question is based on information given to us during the questioning of other stockholders.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, let me say this: I can't remember any time in my life—there might be exceptions—when I recommended to anybody that they go into any company unless I have been willing to go into it myself; and I have never dealt with any friends who have recommended that I go into companies or that my family go into them unless they went into them.

Mr. MOULDER. Your answer is you do not recall having had any conversation such as mentioned in the question of Mr. Russell?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No, but if he has any information that is reliable, he should put it in the record. You ask me questions about people and events. Talking with the Senator this morning, or last night, there were things I remembered all of a sudden. I wouldn't remember this. This seems to me to be so contrary to my practice. I don't put people into companies unless I go in myself, and I don't remember ever having owned any shares in a company such as that.

Mr. MOULDER. That was not the question.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. But I am trying to answer, did I recommend that they get somebody else to go into a company? I wouldn't naturally do such a thing unless I went in myself. That is contrary to the way I do business.

Mr. MOULDER. That was a conversation with Mr. Wahl; was it?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't know the value of the shares, but let's say it was \$100 a share.

Mr. MOULDER. How often did you see Mr. Wahl?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. During this period, 1946, when I came back from Germany, I saw him a number of times; but, as I understand, these questions relate to the early part of 1946. Is that right?

Mr. RUSSELL. It could have been the latter part of 1945, somewhere along there.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Latter part of 1945. I am trying to remember where I was and what I was doing. My own recollection is that in 1945 I was working on the Hill informally, helping a couple of Senators, and my recollection is—this is very vague—that that is where I spent my time so far as I was in Washington.

You remember that, Senator; I was working with you and Clyde Reed. I might have done other things, but I don't remember.

Mr. MOULDER. What was Mr. Wahl doing at that time?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. He was Washington representative or secretary of the American Jewish Conference, which was an amalgamation of a great many Jewish organizations, as I understand it.

I would say I could not recollect anything of this sort. The questioner seems to be very positive about it, and I would be very glad to

have him put it in the record, but I would say it was 100-percent contrary to the way I do business. I wouldn't ask anybody to go into a company unless I made at least a token investment. That is completely contrary to the way I do business.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with the reason why David Wahl left his employment with the United States Government?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No. I don't even know when he left.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you acquainted with Bartley Crum?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you last see him?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. A year ago or 2 years ago; I couldn't remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall having seen him in 1947 here in Washington?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I saw him, but I wouldn't be able to say the year.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was it during the period that this committee was conducting an investigation of the Hollywood motion-picture industry?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. It was somewhere along there. Anything the record has on that is O. K. with me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you discuss the Hollywood hearings with Bartley Crum?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Crum discussed them with me.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the nature of the discussion?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. He wanted to know if I would advise him on procedure. He was consulting me as a lawyer, and I am confident he wouldn't mind my saying to you what he did. Whether it is proper for me to say what he said and what I said, I will have to take a chance on it.

Mr. Crum wanted my advice. I had had a great deal of experience with committee investigations, and had been consulted by other private people before on various investigations on the other side of the Capitol, and I had been consulted by committees themselves. I had a very high opinion of Mr. Crum; thought he was a fine man.

Now, as I recollect it—again this is subject to correction; any correction you want to put in the record is all right with me—he told me that he had advised these people who were his clients to testify before the committee. "Well," I said, "why didn't they?" He said there were other lawyers in the case who didn't agree with him.

I told him—I wouldn't know whether I told him here or in New York—that I thought they had been unwise in holding public meetings and so on; that, if he was not in command of the situation as counsel, it didn't seem to me I could really advise him; that, if he was given complete control of the situation, he could talk to me again; my door was always open. I don't remember whether this was while they were still before the committee, or after they had gotten through, or whether they could come back if they were through; I don't remember.

Bartley Crum is and then was, and has been all his life, a Roman Catholic. I had confidence in his true Americanism. Had he come to me for advice with power to act, I probably would have been willing to advise him. Hundreds and thousands of people come to me for advice on millions of subjects—that is an exaggeration, I guess, but hundreds of subjects. I have done that for many years. I certainly wouldn't shut my door in Mr. Crum's face. But, as far as I understood, he was not in a position to control that situation. In any

event, he didn't come back to me. He may have come back once or twice in that immediate period, but that was the last I heard of that. There may have been a lot of desultory conversations; I do not recollect, but the thing that stands out in my mind is that I said to him, "If you can't act for these people, you ought not to talk to me," and he told me he had advised that they should testify.

If that is a breach of the relations between him and his attempt to consult me as a lawyer, I am very sorry, and I apologize for that breach. I only hope the committee will cover me if I am attacked.

(Hon. Harold H. Velde entered hearing room.)

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you arrange any press conferences for Bartley Crum during the Hollywood hearings?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you see or visit Phillip Dunaway during the committee's Hollywood investigation?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you meet him in New York City?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't have any recollection of that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you discuss with Bartley Crum the possibility of securing Phillip Dunaway's services?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I wouldn't have any recollection of that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Phillip Dunaway?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Oh, yes; oh, yes. But I want to make it clear that I wouldn't have been likely to do that, because, if Mr. Crum could not control that situation, it was foolish for me to give him any advice of any kind. Whether I ever talked to Phillip Dunaway about it, I wouldn't know. I have seen Phillip Dunaway recently, but up to that time I hadn't seen him for 2 or 3 years, I think.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you ever receive any compensation for any services performed by you in an official capacity on the subject of the questions propounded by Mr. Russell?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall whether you met Mr. Dunaway in New York during the course of the committee's Hollywood investigation?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. In 1947? I wouldn't recall that. Anything you might have that would show I did, I am perfectly willing to have put on the record.

Mr. Chairman, I have seen, in the course of 38 years in public life, tens of thousands of people. I can't possibly remember all these things. But anything your committee has that supplements, corrects, or fills in anything I say, I will be glad to have put in the record.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you discuss Phillip Dunaway with David Wahl during the course of the committee's Hollywood investigation?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I wouldn't have any recollection; but, again, if you have anything on that I will be glad to have you put it on the record. But it seems to me very doubtful, Mr. Chairman, after telling Mr. Crum I wouldn't advise him unless he was in control of the situation, that I would have bothered with such a thing. I have a vague recollection of speaking with some degree of criticism to some person, possibly other than Mr. Crum, but I think it was Mr. Crum, that the idea of having public meetings struck me as juvenile.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you speak of "public meetings," you are referring to the Committee for First Amendment?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. If I ever knew the name of the committee, I don't remember it now. I don't remember who they were or what they were about, if I ever did know, I will be glad to have you put it on the record. I just can't remember things of that kind.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did any of the other attorneys representing the Hollywood witnesses consult you during the course of the committee's Hollywood investigation?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I remember a lawyer named Kenny from California.

Mr. RUSSELL. Robert W. Kenny?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't remember his first name. I know he did not consult me. I don't know who all the attorneys were, but I would be doubtful whether anyone among these counsel, other than Mr. Crum, consulted me; and if they advised these men not to testify, as Mr. Crum told me they did, that would have been completely out with me.

I don't mean to pass judgment on them as lawyers, or on their judgment, or on their clients or their view on political philosophy, or anything like that. I guided myself on a very simple principle, and told Mr. Crum that, if he wasn't in control so that his clients would do what he advised them, there was no use in his consulting me.

But I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, so that this record has some proportion to it, that I am consulted by businessmen, corporation people, family people, about all manner of situations, to a very great extent. A lot of people seem to think I have good judgment. Maybe I have, and maybe I haven't. But the number of people who consult me is endless, and this kind of consultation by Mr. Crum would be one in thousands over the years.

I am consulted by United States Senators; not very much on this side of the Capitol, because this is kind of strange territory to me, although one committee here had me here for several weeks, and I was very glad to serve them; but I do see innumerable people, and generally my door is open, unless I am too busy. I reserve the right to decline to advise, as I did to Mr. Crum, and I think I was sound in my attitude. I may have given him some passing advice before it became clear he did not have control.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall whether you discussed the committee's Hollywood investigation with Ben Margolis, a member of the firm of Katz, Gallagher & Margolis?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't remember ever meeting the man. I may have, in the course of years, but I don't remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did David Wahl discuss the committee's Hollywood investigation with you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. David Wahl is not a lawyer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he present in any of these discussions with Bartley Crum?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I should very much doubt it; very much.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you acquainted with Charles Kramer?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you see him during the course of the committee's Hollywood investigation in 1947?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I should very much doubt it. I think he was connected with some Senate committee, and I doubt that I saw him,

because, whatever that Senate committee was, I had no contact with it so far as I remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you present at any meetings with these Hollywood people when Charles Kramer was present?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I never met any of these Hollywood people at any time. There is one name in the Hollywood group I remember. He was a son of Ring Lardner, whom I have always admired for his writings. That is the only one. It is possible if any of them were Communists I might have met them under some other name, but I don't remember. And during that period I am pretty confident I would not have talked to any of them; not knowingly. I was consulted by their lawyer, not by them, so far as I know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with John Dierkes, D-i-e-r-k-e-s, who was at one time employed by the Treasury Department of the United States Government?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I might have met him. You would have to give me more details.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know J. Richard Kennedy?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Again, I might have met him, but you have me in a fog here.

Mr. RUSSELL. Dierkes and Kennedy both later were associated in Hollywood in connection with the production of a motion picture.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. What was the name of it?

Mr. RUSSELL. It was a picture pertaining to the life of the late President.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. President Roosevelt? I wouldn't know if I even saw the picture.

Mr. RUSSELL. To the best of your recollection?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. This is beyond my depths.

Mr. RUSSELL. To the best of your recollection you don't know John Dierkes or J. Richard Kennedy?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. If these names are names of people I have met, I will be glad to have you furnish it for the record.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Sidney Buchman? He was also associated with the Hollywood motion-picture industry.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, there was a time when the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee was investigating motion pictures. Although I was not connected with that investigation officially, I was consulted from time to time. Some of these names may have come up. I wouldn't know.

Mr. WHEELER. I don't recall any.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. But I want to repeat a million times, if you have anything on it that I knew these men, put it on the record and I will accept it. I can't recollect it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you acquainted with Martin Popper, an attorney here in Washington?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I once knew a man named Popper, but he was connected, my recollection is, with the Lawyers' Guild; but, if he was an attorney in Washington, I wouldn't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. He is now in New York City.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I wouldn't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you a member of the Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I was.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you now a member of the Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you resign?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. May I tell you about that, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MOULDER. Certainly.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. So far as I can recollect, the National Lawyers' Guild was organized probably in the 1930's. One of the earliest men in it, if not one of the organizers, was an elderly man from my home town, Minneapolis. He is a well-known man, a very successful lawyer. He is 15 years my senior. He is still active in practice. I always looked up to him. As I got older and passed into middle age, we got even more friendly. He would generally look me up when he was in the East, and I would always look him up when I was visiting back home.

My recollection is that he several times asked me to join that organization. I told him I wasn't interested, I had other things to do, and I was too busy. That is my recollection. I may be in error in some details.

One day in Washington I either ran into him or had a luncheon engagement with him at the Hay-Adams. He asked wouldn't I join, and I did, and gave him a check. I may have belonged a year or two years. I never was interested in the literature. I make no criticism of it, no criticism at all. I never had the time to read it. I never attended any meetings of theirs, luncheons, or anything. I just stopped paying dues, and I don't imagine this friend of mine resented it. But let me add one thing. As far as I am personally concerned, I have never known anything about it that was communistic, and this friend of mine was fighting communism in this country and in the world probably earlier than most people in America, and earlier than any committee of Congress. He was one of the staunchest and most vigorous anti-Communists in the country.

Mr. WHEELER. You also belong to the American Bar Association?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes. And I belong to the New York Bar Association. I have belonged to that for almost 40 years. My old boss was president of that association.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recall when you stopped paying dues to the National Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't know. I think they sent monthly or quarterly or half-yearly bulletins, and I couldn't go it. Some of these organizations keep on sending you stuff. I make no criticism of it. A lot of stuff that comes to us goes into the wastebasket because we don't have time to read it, along with corporation reports of corporations we have stock in, we don't have time to read those.

Mr. WHEELER. How long were you a member?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I would say the longest 5 years, or maybe 3. If I knew when I joined, I could be more accurate. I think their dues were \$2 or \$6. It wasn't the money. Nor was it that I thought there was anything wrong with them. I wasn't interested when they started and I wasn't interested when I was a member. I don't think I ever attended any function or any meeting of any kind. If you have anything to the contrary, I will be glad to have it go in the record and I will accept it.

Mr. RUSSELL. I think you said you were employed by the Board of Economic Warfare in 1942?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No; I think it was in 1943 that I was employed.

Mr. RUSSELL. Why did you resign your position with the Board of Economic Warfare?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Well, I went into it because I thought I could do war service. I went into it after talking with the Senator. I felt I had done about as much as I could do, and I had other things to do, and there were others who could carry on. I had put a businessman in charge of the division before I went out, Joe McGoldrick, and Leo Crowley had come in, and I had a feeling they could take care of things without me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Shortly prior to the time you resigned, were you requested to appear before the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I was.

Mr. RUSSELL. Why did they want you to appear before the Commission?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. They wanted to examine me, I think.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you submit yourself to examination?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I told the man who called me this, as I remember it, that, if he wanted to know anything about me, he had better come to the office and ask me, and had better do it soon I because was leaving soon, and I thought it was infra dig, beneath my dignity, after my years in the Federal Government, to be questioned by some little investigator in some little hole, in some back building, about my career, I wouldn't stand for it; but that, if he wanted to know anything about me, I would be glad to have him come over and ask any questions he wanted, but I wholly disapproved on that way of doing Government business; that I would be willing to be questioned by my peers, but not by some little investigator who may not have been born by the time I had begun to serve the Federal Government with some honor. I feel that way today.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he indicate to you why he wanted to question you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I have no recollection of anything else in that conversation.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was it because of some associations you might have had?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I have no recollection of anything else in that conversation.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you ever interviewed by that investigator?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No; I don't remember that I was. And I may have said to him, I think, also, Mr. Chairman, that for some little investigator to come around and ask me questions about my record, which had already been passed upon by some of the leading men in the United States Senate, and by men who had been President, both on the Democratic and Republican side, seemed to me rather ignoble. I felt that way then, and feel today that to have some little investigator question me about my record is ignoble.

Mr. VELDE. You knew he wanted to question you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes. He was very apologetic, as I remember it, and he said, "You hold a very important position and we have to go through this form," and I think I said to him, "I don't care about forms; I just don't like that way of doing business; I wasn't brought up that way in the Government and I won't take it, and I don't think anybody else should take it."

Mr. RUSSELL. Was that investigation to be before the investigator alone, or before the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you have objected to appearing before the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. The members of the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I may not have objected. I don't know what I would have thought then. I know I was pretty sore about it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you acquainted with Allan Rosenberg?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he employed by you in the Board of Economic Warfare, or did he work under you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. He was in my division in the Board of Economic Warfare. May I comment on that?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I was asked to do a job. The number of people required to do that job varied from time to time, that is, the estimates, but, as I recall it, the total number finally employed was 150. There were at times discussed 200, 300, and so on.

Mr. MOULDER. May I interrupt you? Did you have any control over, or have anything to do with the appointment of, the man he asked you about?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I could make a recommendation. It would have to be passed upon by the Board of Economic Warfare and by the Civil Service Commission, as I remember it. At that time, as I recall, in 1942 and 1943, the Government was scraping the bottom of the manpower barrel. It was hard to get capable men or women. I had written to men who had been my classmates 30 years before, all over the country, to know if they were available for Government service. I couldn't get one. It wasn't lack of patriotism. One man said he had four sons in the service and he had to stay home to take care of the practice; and so on.

I sought men from the Wickersham commission, men who had worked there when I was secretary of the commission, but they were elderly or middle-aged lawyers, and some were dead. I couldn't get any from that staff. I tried to get people who had been on the staff of the Interstate Commerce Committee. We got one or two. We had a man come over from the Civil Service Commission. He spent days there.

Mr. WHEELER. What was his name?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't remember the name. He came to study our needs as to personnel. I went to the Harvard School of Business Administration and asked if they knew anybody. I went to the Harvard Placement Department. I went to Radcliffe. We had a professor from Columbia looking for people for us.

Hundreds of names came through. Sometimes we couldn't get names through that we recommended; sometimes we could. This man I have been asked about was working in the Board of Economic Warfare, as I remember, before I came there. The work he was on came to an end. We were glad to get him, and as I remember it, he did a good job; a good job, as I remember it. He had been passed upon already, or I assume he had, by the Civil Service Commission. We got him, we were glad to get him, and as far as I knew he did a first-rate job.

Mr. MOULDER. He was employed before you were?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes; that is my recollection. If there is any error in that, I would be glad to have it corrected. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, I personally did not know then, and have never known since, anything discreditable about him as a lawyer or as a citizen.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you were in Germany, did you see Mr. Rosenberg?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't think he was there. I never heard of his being there. If he was there my recollection has gone haywire. I never heard of it. But if you say he was there, put it on the record.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you socially acquainted with him?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Surely. Mr. Chairman, in order to keep that thing intact and keep up morale, I had scores and scores of the staff come to my home in Chevy Chase, and I entertained them. A lot of them wanted to resign. Mr. Rosenberg wanted to resign. I had a problem to keep him after we got him. You ask when I last saw him. Well, 2 years, 4 years; I wouldn't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you acquainted with George Shaw Wheeler?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. While you were in Germany, did you see George Shaw Wheeler?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Once.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the circumstances surrounding that meeting?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I do; I do.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the nature of that meeting?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, there was a dining hall in Berlin close to or a part of the administration headquarters, which seated 500, 1,000, or 1,500 people. Sometimes I would eat there. It was about the only place you could eat unless you ate at one of the places where you lived. I think it was on a Sunday, but I am not sure, that in passing out of the dining hall—and frequently I ate alone; that was one of the things I didn't like about my life there—I saw this man and a lady and several children at a table by the door. It turned out to be his wife and children. I greeted him, remarked on the children, some pleasant word or other, and so far as I can recollect I never saw him at any time in Germany on any other occasion; I never had any words with him in Germany except in that kind of a passing situation. I don't know what he was doing there.

Mr. WHEELER. Let me ask a question, if I may. As I understand it, Dondero said in a speech that he was your assistant.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. In the first place, I had no assistant when I was there. I didn't even have a secretary when I was there. In the second place, I ran into a banker last night in New York in a restaurant who had been in Germany at that time, and I said to him, "Was this George Wheeler ever my assistant in Germany?" He said, "No; he was in another division." I would like to go further, if I may, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed with any explanation you wish to make, if it is pertinent to the question.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I was charged with bringing Mr. Wheeler into the Government. I think toward the end of my service with the Board of Economic Warfare this man transferred, or wanted to transfer and finally did transfer, I think it was from the War Production Board.

Mr. WHEELER. That is, he was with the War Production Board?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I think so; he was with some other Government board, and I think it was the War Production Board.

I usually met prospective employees coming into our division, not always but usually, and I met him. So far as I can now recollect, I don't think I had ever seen him before or ever known him before. Of course in 30 or 40 years you see a lot of people, and I might have run into him before, but I don't remember it now.

He transferred to our Board either shortly before I left or shortly after I left; and whether he transferred at the time that this businessman who was in charge temporarily while I was away was in charge, or before or after that time, I wouldn't remember. My guess would be that I never saw any of the work that he did with the Board. I don't know how long he was there; I don't know when he went to Germany; I don't know who took him to Germany. But I heard this, because I tried to make inquiries 3 years ago when I was charged with having brought him to Germany, or with having brought him into the Government, or some charge such as that.

This may be wrong, because I don't know this at first hand at all, but as I understand it, he was charged in Germany with certain charges, and some general testified in his behalf who had known him in the War Production Board and worked with him, or something like that.

And I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that if I am to be condemned for 1 or 2 or 5 or 10 people who have come to work on staffs of which I have been the head—and I have been the head of many staffs in Government and in business—in the course of 38 years, if that is the most that can be found of people who are nuts or drunks or anything else, that is a pretty good record.

Mr. MOULDER. When you went to the Board of Economic Warfare, do I understand that was a new agency?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. That was an agency established in 1941 or 1942, I believe.

Mr. MOULDER. And the War Production Board existed before that?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Before that.

Mr. MOULDER. And this man whose name has been mentioned, Wheeler—

Mr. LOWENTHAL. He has no relationship to Senator Wheeler.

Mr. MOULDER. Was it the practice then, as now, when a new agency is set up, for people in other agencies who hear about the new agency to seek a transfer to the new agency?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. There is a lot of that, but I made this rule, no stealing from other agencies. If a man wanted to leave another agency or his work was completed, all right, but no recruiting from other agencies. There were some good people we tried to get in that we couldn't because they didn't fit in a particular slot or the Civil Service Commission didn't approve them.

Mr. MOULDER. Did the Board of Economic Warfare have its own personnel office?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you familiar with the circumstances under which George Shaw Wheeler was afforded a loyalty hearing before the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. If there was such a hearing it was after I was with the Government.

Mr. RUSSELL. It was in 1945.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I was out of the Government long before that, except informal assistance to some Senators on the Hill, and that kind of work, but I left the Board of Economic Warfare, as I remember it, either in 1943 or early 1944. As a matter of fact, I was busy in 1944 on politics, all that year, a few personal things of my own I had to take care of.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Lee Pressman?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I am.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the nature of your acquaintance with him?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Let me work backward, if I may.

Mr. MOULDER. Was your association social or business?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. The last time I remember seeing Mr. Pressman was around 1948, about that time, roughly speaking. He asked to see me, and he asked for some advice or suggestion about a case that seemed to me to be a very pitiful case. I said I could not advise him or make a suggestion.

The preceding time was in 1948 when he asked me whether I could supply him with some data on railroads that he wanted to use for the Progressive Party. He didn't want any confidential material. He knew I had a great deal of material. I said "No."

Mr. MOULDER. You mean information concerning the operation of railroads?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes; their finances and things of that kind. I knew a great deal about it. I had worked on a Senate committee dealing with that for years. I had a hand in writing some of the reports on railroads. I said "No."

Mr. VELDE. When did you first make the acquaintance of Lee Pressman?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I wouldn't remember.

Mr. VELDE. To the best of your recollection?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Probably sometime in the thirties, but I wouldn't remember.

In 1944 I think I urged him, as counsel to the CIO, to help eliminate Mr. Wallace from the Vice Presidency. He said, as I remember it—and this is all subject to correction, but I think I fairly well remember this—that he was standing on the sidelines and not going to the convention of the Democratic Party. Mr. Murray was not in Washington at that time, as far as I know.

Mr. WHEELER. Philip Murray?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Philip Murray. I went to Chicago and saw Philip Murray and urged the same program on him. I don't remember whether I ever spoke to the CIO or any of the labor groups in 1940 about candidates. There was a man I was supporting before it became known that Mr. Roosevelt was going to run for a third term. You may remember that was not known until after the convention met.

Now, I would like to go back a bit in connection with Mr. Pressman. I was once asked to be a member of or to sponsor a law magazine that was being run in New York by a group of younger men and women who had been graduates of law school. I was myself, in law school, an editor of the Harvard Law Review.

Now, I have read somewhere that Mr. Pressman had written for that magazine. I wouldn't want the record to show that he didn't because I wouldn't remember. Anything on that that the committee

has, I will accept 100 percent. In fact, anything the committee has that would correct what I say on this or anything else, I will accept 100 percent.

If Mr. Pressman wrote for that magazine, it would have appeared to me at the time as a guarantee of solidity, and I tell you why. As I remember it, he was employed in New York in Mr. Chadburn's law office, one of the 10 most important law offices in New York, if not in the United States. In 1915 Mr. Chadburn asked me to go over and see him. I had my own law office at 14 Wall Street in the Bankers Trust Building.

You went up one elevator, and then took a special elevator to the tower. It was a wonderful law office in the tower, and there was this tall Mr. Chadburn. He was attorney for Mr. Gould and other interests. He asked me to join him. He wasn't going to make me a partner, but a special assistant or something like that. I remember his saying, "I have earned \$1,100,000 this year." That was good money in 1915. I declined the offer, but I was very much complimented. Anyone working in Mr. Chadburn's office would have seemed to me to have a perfect set-up.

If that law magazine, which I have always regarded as a scholarly, competent, truly American magazine, had any writings in it by Mr. Pressman, at that time and by reason of anything that has occurred since, I, who went to no meeting of that law magazine, who attended no luncheons so far as I can remember, who had nothing to do with it other than lend it my name—if there is something wrong with me about that, what do we say about Mr. Chadburn's law office? What do we say about Mr. Chadburn's clients who had to deal with the juniors?

This may not be well known to members of your staff, but I know because I worked in a New York law office. The junior partners have to take care of clients. If you keep up this process of making charges, there isn't a corporation in the United States that won't be charged with being communistic or anti-American.

I realize there are investigators who have no knowledge of that part of American life, and never will have such knowledge, because they couldn't get a job in such places under any circumstances, except maybe as a detective. But those of us who know something about that part of American life know that if you keep up this process, there will be no American who will be known as an American; and I am sure the members of this committee would not want that to happen.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed with the questions.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Mr. Pressman ever seek to have you appointed as head of an investigative staff or organization which would investigate the practices of the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. If he did, it is news to me; but if you have anything to the contrary, put it on the record and I will accept it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Pressman was asked some of these questions, and I would like to ask you the same questions.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. It is all right, and if he has any recollection that is at variance with mine, I will accept it.

Mr. RUSSELL. These questions are not based only on what investigators have found, but on what other people have said. I was also employed in private industry, Mr. Lowenthal.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I am not saying anything about members of this staff. I will reserve that for another occasion. If anything I have said was taken to refer to any member of this staff, Mr. Chairman, please strike it. I am not talking about this staff at all.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Lee Pressman propose your name as secretary of the War Manpower Commission in 1942? Do you recall anything of that nature?

Mr. WHEELER. I didn't get the question.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Lee Pressman propose your name as secretary of the War Manpower Commission?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. When was this?

Mr. RUSSELL. In 1942.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. What time in 1942?

Mr. RUSSELL. Early in 1942.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Well, if he did, I would certainly have consulted the Senator about it, because I consulted the Senator about what I was to do before I left the Senate committee. I don't recall consulting the Senator about it.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you ever solicit Mr. Pressman to suggest your name?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I never solicited anybody to propose me for any job, but I can't say people haven't proposed me for jobs. I have been proposed by many people for many jobs, but I have not always accepted them.

Mr. VELDE. Your answer is you have no recollection?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I haven't any recollection.

Mr. WHEELER. You don't know that he ever recommended you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No; but he may very well have recommended me for various positions. All I can say is, when it comes to politics, although he and I have agreed on some things, he and I have disagreed on some things.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you at one time counsel for the Russian-American Industrial Corp.?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. My law firm, I believe, incorporated that company and I assume were counsel for it.

Mr. MOULDER. What year was that?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Probably sometime in the early twenties.

Mr. RUSSELL. 1923.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. It was incorporated in 1923? As I remember, in the Congressional Record it was charged it was in existence in 1922. I don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. According to our information, you became counsel for it in 1923.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I think that my firm incorporated that company and became counsel whenever it was. I wouldn't know at all. As I remember, in the Congressional Record it was charged that in 1922 it was in existence.

Mr. MOULDER. When did your connections cease with that corporation?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. This is a very vague recollection on my part, because that was not in my department in the office. I didn't handle the incorporation of companies and things of that kind. I was handling much bigger things at the time. We turned that over to juniors.

This is a very, very vague recollection. I have been trying to remember since I saw this kind of charge. I believe when the banks began sending dollar currency for emigrant families to their relatives in Lithuania, Latvia, those border countries, because they were being gypped if you transferred rubles—when the banks began sending dollar currency, I think this company went out of business, but I wouldn't remember because I didn't handle its affairs.

Mr. MOULDER. This was many years ago?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes. That is my guess.

Mr. WHEELER. That was organized for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. It was.

Mr. MOULDER. That was in the 1920's?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I believe so, but I didn't handle that in my office. I was on more remunerative work, I am glad to say.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you a stockholder in the Russian-American Industrial Corp.?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I might have been, I don't remember. If I was, I lost the money, and it couldn't have been much more than \$1,000.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you associated with the Twentieth Century Fund at one time?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the purpose of that?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Edward A. Filene, merchant and philanthropist of Boston, and a very fine man, my client and friend, asked me to go on the Board, and I went on the Board. I think it met once a year, and I believe I generally attended the meetings; and as far as I can remember, the work was very fine work.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know Evans Clark, the director of that fund?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know how it was that he was appointed to the position of director of the Twentieth Century Fund?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I have no knowledge of that. I think he was there long before I was put on the board.

Mr. RUSSELL. You had no information about his earlier background?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Anybody that Mr. Filene said was O. K. was O. K. with me. Mr. Chairman, I might have had some information, but I wouldn't remember now.

That fund, I would like to have it noted for the record, so far as I have ever heard of it—I resigned from it maybe 15 or 20 years ago—I have no knowledge that that fund was anything other than a very high-grade, patriotic, useful organization, and I hope that this record will show that so far as I have any knowledge of it, I believe it is an O. K. group. Mr. Filene is dead, and I would like to note on the record too that he was a great American.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever contact the Russian Ambassador in Washington for the purpose of getting visas for persons to leave Lithuania?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I went to the Russian Embassy about 1940 to ask them whether and how it could be arranged that a lady and her two children then in Lithuania could leave there. I was told that

would require the approval of the Supreme Council of Russia, and that almost never happened. The children are now dead because they were not allowed out of that country. They were the only children of this lady, and she will never have any more children. So far as I can remember, Mr. Chairman, that is the only time I was ever in the Russian Embassy. I don't think I ever went to any of their parties, even when everybody else in Washington thought it was a nice thing to do.

Mr. RUSSELL. In other words, these people were clients?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. My client was a very wealthy businessman who would have been executed if he had returned to Lithuania, and the children are now dead, and it is one of the sad things in my experience that I didn't have the ability to get them out of there.

Mr. WHEELER. If everybody was accused who went to the Russian Embassy, I am afraid a lot of people would be accused, because they went to the Russian Embassy and ate caviar.

Mr. VELDE. I don't think the committee intends to accuse Mr. Lowenthal because he went to the Russian Embassy.

Mr. MOULDER. In that instance you were endeavoring to get these children and their mother out of a communistic region?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. We wanted to get them out of there. The mother had been arrested when the Russians came in. The children are dead.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you a member of the International Juridical Association?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. That was this magazine I spoke of before. I was. I don't think I was at the beginning, but I was asked later and said yes, and I think they went out of business in a few years after that, 6 or 8 or 10 years.

Let me add, Mr. Chairman, that I read something about it in the Congressional Record. A good deal of it was news to me. As to the people named in the Congressional Record as having been writers for the magazine, I wouldn't remember. I never went to any meetings.

Mr. WHEELER. Didn't they say Alger Hiss wrote for it?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. They said he did. At that time Alger Hiss was employed by Cotten & Franklin, one of the best guaranties, to me, of reputation, you could ask for. It is one of the six largest firms in New York. Joe Cotten had been Under Secretary of State under Hoover, a wonderful man.

Mr. MOULDER. I understood you had nothing to do with the control of the magazine?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I read it from time to time and always thought it was a very scholarly, reputable magazine; and I would like to see sometime, a committee of Congress ask a committee of deans of some of the law schools to read it and tell the committee whether it was scholarly. That was my impression of it. Many of the things they were for in their magazine, the House of Representatives voted for too.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you a member of the national committee of the IJA?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't know if they had a national committee. I was asked to be a sponsor and I said yes. That was all there was to it. I never had anything to do with the management of it, and never went to a meeting in connection with it that I recollect.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you acquainted with Joseph R. Brodsky during the time you were in the IJA?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Brodsky was a lawyer who was a partner of a man named Hale, Captain Hale, and I met him once or twice many years earlier. Whether I met him in this period, I don't remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. He was also a member of the IJA?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. If that is the case, I would be very glad to have it noted on the record. I wouldn't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. You didn't know he was a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. The number of people that I didn't know were members of the Communist Party is something that sometimes makes my hair stand on end.

Mr. RUSSELL. Ours too.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. And I want to repeat what I said before, while the examiner is looking up something. Any of these names that were mentioned in the Congressional Record, it is all right with me to have their names go in the record as belonging to this or another organization; if it is a fact, I will accept it. But I think after 38 years in public affairs, to be accused of belonging to two or three organizations is a pretty small number.

Mr. MOULDER. You are not connected with any of these organizations now and have not been for many years?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. This law magazine went out of business years ago. The Lawyers' Guild, I stopped paying dues years ago, I don't remember when. But if you are going to talk about organizations, I think it would be fair to ask about the organizations I do belong to.

Mr. WHEELER. What organizations do you belong to?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I contribute to the YMCA in Connecticut; the Red Cross; one of my farmer neighbors made me join the Farm Bureau Federation. I said, "I am not a farmer. I lease my land, and the only thing I am growing is timber." He said I ought to join, and I joined. I saw in the Congressional Record the charge was made some farm organization was communistic. It made me wonder. But if my farmer neighbor tells me it is O. K., it is O. K. I belong to bar associations; various relief things; clubs.

Mr. MOULDER. You said that was the American Bar Association?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. And the New York Bar Association. I can't remember all the things I belong to. I belong to alumni associations—the Harvard Law School Association of New York; the Harvard Law School Association of the Nation; and the Minnesota Alumni Association. I remember one time paying \$25 for a membership in the Minneapolis Alumni Association; I don't know what happened to it. I belong to the New York City Minnesota Alumni Association. I don't remember all the things I belong to.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever register as a lobbyist?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever lobbied against the passage of any bill before the Congress?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I opposed the wire-tapping bill, but not for money. I opposed it because I was against it, because the organizations in which I believe are against it, and the House of Representatives voted it down, and one of the most prominent committees ever in the United States Senate was against it, and it isn't law to this date.

Mr. WHEELER. Who were the members of the subcommittee?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Over in the Senate a committee report was filed which condemned the wire-tapping business. The chairman of that committee was Senator Wheeler, of Montana.

Mr. WHEELER. The subcommittee——

Mr. LOWENTHAL. The chairman of the subcommittee was Mr. Truman, of Missouri; I think Mr. Wagner, of New York—I am not sure of all the names; I think Barkley, of Kentucky; Austin, of New York; Shipstead, of Minnesota. And they let that bill die in their committee.

I still think I was right. I would be glad to work against any wire-tapping bill any time. And Senator McCarran, of Nevada, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, whom I have the honor of quoting in a book I am writing, said that if there was any bill that came up providing for wire-tapping, he would oppose it, and what Senator McCarran says is good enough for me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever oppose a proposed amendment to the Nationality Act which provided for the cancellation of citizenship of any naturalized citizen whose activities established that his allegiance was to a foreign government? That was H. R. 6250 of the Eightieth Congress. I don't expect you to remember the entire details of the bill, but it provided for the cancellation of the citizenship of any naturalized citizen whose activities established his allegiance was to a foreign government.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Some years ago I went to see Senator McCarran, whom I like. There was some bill or other that had to do with the cancellation of citizenship; I forget on what grounds.

I said this to Senator McCarran, I said, "Now, Senator, under the law the courts can cancel citizenship obtained by fraud. There were cases in and after the First World War in which men who had come here from Germany were charged with being in favor of the Kaiser, or with having said something offhand in a saloon or somewhere, and there were some cases of people who for as long as 37 years were in this Nation, and their citizenship was canceled." I said, "You can have a great deal of injustice done in a period of hysteria. Why not leave it to the courts?"

That is what I remember. If it was that kind of bill, I would not like it. But whether I ever did anything about such a bill, I would not now recollect. If you have something to indicate I went before a committee or anything of the kind, I would be glad to have it go on the record, but I was never a paid lobbyist for anybody at any time.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Carol Weiss King?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I am.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was she ever employed by you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. She was.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was she ever known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No; and I don't believe she is. I believe she is too independent to let anybody tell her what to do.

Mr. WHEELER. Who is she?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. A lawyer in New York. She came to work in our office. She was there 3 months.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was she employed as a law clerk?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes; and it was during a period I was engaged in some big business matters away from the office. I don't know if she did her work well or not. I imagine she did it well. She is the daughter of a very wealthy, very successful, New York lawyer. She started out practicing for herself, representing poor people, and that brought her many immigration cases. Wall Street firms in New York would turn over cases to her. I once sent her an internationally known musician, now dead, who was a stateless man.

I have never heard it said that Mrs. King has ever done anything, as a lawyer or as a citizen, that was improper. She once told me 99 percent of her clients had nothing to do with any politics of any kind; and if, other than cases sent her by Wall Street firms, a Communist came to her and she took the case, it is one of our proudest boasts of American jurisprudence that everybody in America is entitled to counsel; and when men are members of organizations or groups held in contempt or disrespect, it is hard enough for them to get a lawyer, and if in addition to that we attach the theory of guilt by association to the lawyer who is willing to accept such a retainer, I think we are undermining one of the most wonderful principles of our jurisprudence.

Mr. WHEELER. Didn't Wendell Willkie represent a Communist?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I think he did. And it is mentioned in a book which I am engaged in writing that the Senate Judiciary Committee has remarks of Samuel Untermyer made 30 years ago that are well worth reading.

Mr. RUSSELL. In the case of Mrs. King it is not only a question of whom she represents. She has been a member of 15 Communist-front organizations.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. If she was, she was.

Mr. WHEELER. At any rate, she only worked for you 3 months?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Three months in 1920.

Mr. RUSSELL. She also represented Gerhart Eisler when he was questioned during the war. That was not an immigration case.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I read in the paper she had been his counsel.

Mr. WHEELER. The fact she worked in his office 3 months in 1920, to me is perfectly ridiculous to intimate——

Mr. RUSSELL. I am merely asking questions. His explanations go in the record.

Mr. WHEELER. I understand that. I am not criticizing you.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will tell you this, Senator: You have been granted more leeway in this hearing than any other attorney.

Mr. WHEELER. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, if Mrs. King was in my office 3 months 30 years ago, and if Mr. Pressman is accused of something, or Mr. Hiss is accused of something, who were much more recently members of prominent Wall Street law offices, what happens to those offices and their clients? What happens to Justice Holmes? I remember, when I was in law school, getting the law clerkship to Justice Holmes was a tremendous compliment. Could Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, who lived a year with this man, be blasted for that?

Mr. RUSSELL. Who recommended Carol Weiss King to you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't have any idea.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you employ her yourself?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't have any idea. I may very well have approved her employment; I don't recall. During the period she was there, I was away from the office for about a year or two on some large business affairs. I was almost never in the office. I didn't have the time. I would be perfectly willing to have the record show I recommended her employment, but I wouldn't know. I want to make it very clear, Mr. Chairman, I make no criticism of Mrs. King at all. I have never heard anything to indicate that she is a Communist or that she has done anything unethical as a lawyer or as a citizen.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Robert O. Litchfield?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever work for you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No; I don't think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever distribute any literature for you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. He might have taken some of our reports and so on.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am not speaking of reports. This literature criticized the FBI.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I was in disagreement with the FBI on wire tapping and things of that kind, and still am in disagreement with them on that and other things in which I think the interests of the public could be better served. I am pretty well known in Washington, and many people would pass on my views. If there is anything of this sort your records show that is correct, I am willing to have it put on the record and I will accept it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall whether you ever paid him any sums of money for distributing literature?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No. I never paid anybody any money for distributing anything, so far as I can recollect.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Mary Jane Keeney?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I am.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever endeavor to assist her to secure a passport for travel to Japan?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No. I couldn't have. I would have nothing to do with such things.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did David Wahl ever discuss Mary Jane Keeney with you and her inability to secure a passport?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. He may have. I don't recollect.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you tell him you would see Secretary of War Patterson about securing a passport for Mary Jane Keeney?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Certainly not. How would I come to say such a thing? Was she ever employed under me in any capacity? Would your records show?

Mr. RUSSELL. I couldn't tell you. Are you acquainted with Nathan Witt?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I am.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall how you met him?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I met him in Washington.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever recommend him for a Government position, or did he ever recommend you?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I wouldn't recollect. Again, if you have anything on it, I will accept it.

Mr. WHEELER. You have never recommended him for a position?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No. What would I have to do with that? As to his recommending me, I wouldn't know. I will bet a dollar a great many people have recommended me for all sorts of things I have never heard of, because two or three people think well of me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Abraham J. Isserman, one of the attorneys who represented the 11 convicted Communists?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. If I am, I certainly have not seen him for many years; but, whether I met him as a lawyer, I have met many lawyers.

Mr. MOULDER. Is he a lawyer?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. He said he represented these people. I wouldn't want to say I did or didn't.

Mr. VELDE. You don't recollect?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No; I don't recollect. I can't be sure of those things.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you consulted with him recently?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Mr. Isserman?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; regarding the appeal of the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I haven't seen anyone by the name of Isserman in many years, if ever; and nobody has consulted me about the appeal of the Communists. That is one thing I have not been consulted on. I have been consulted about thousands of other things. If somebody met me on the street and said something about it, I don't remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with John Abt?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you meet him?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I think he was in Washington years ago. How I met him, I don't know. Was he connected with a committee on the Hill?

Mr. RUSSELL. No.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Was he connected with the Government in any way?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't recall how I met him.

Mr. WHEELER. You never had any close relations with him?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No. What kind of close relations would I have with a man who was not working on the Hill? It is a kind of absurdity.

Mr. MOULDER. Just answer the questions and we will save a lot of time.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I am sorry.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Ruth Weyand, an attorney with the National Labor Relations Board?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I have no recollection.

Mr. RUSSELL. You didn't meet her while you were in the National Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I never went to any meetings of the National Lawyers' Guild, as far as I can remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever represented the Amtorg Trading Corporation?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Soviet Purchasing Commission?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Four-Continent Book Corp.?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No. What?

Mr. RUSSELL. Four-Continent Book Corp.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No, but if you are through with this line of questions I would like to make a comment. One of the largest banks in the United States years ago, I understood, was banker for Amtorg, and one of the largest law firms in the United States was their counsel. No one would dream of suggesting there was anything wrong with them.

Mr. RUSSELL. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Velde?

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. WHEELER. Are there any statements that Dondero brought out that have not been answered?

Mr. RUSSELL. I can ask you the other names. Bjorne Halling, secretary-treasurer of the California CIO Council.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I might have met him, but I don't remember. If he was connected with some labor organization I may have met him.

Mr. WHEELER. In California?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I can't say no, because I would rather have the record show if he was a labor man I probably did meet him.

Mr. MOULDER. If you knew him, your acquaintance was very casual?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I don't think I knew him very well.

Mr. RUSSELL. Shad Polier.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Yes. He was Rabbi Wise's son-in-law. I met him on many occasions, though not in recent years.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Thomas I. Emerson?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I met him some years ago.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Al Bernstein?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. According to this thing in the record, he had worked for our Senate committee. Whether he worked on our payroll or was loaned to us by some other Government organization, I wouldn't know. If he did work for us, it would have been in a very minor capacity, very minor.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you had any recent association with him?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I wouldn't know how many years it is since I have seen him, but it must be many years, unless I passed him on the street and forgot it.

Mr. RUSSELL. I have no further questions.

Mr. LOWENTHAL. May I say this. I will try to make it very brief. In the course of 38 years I have met tens of thousands of people, and worked with them, too. I have dealt with many organizations. I think if you take it in proportion to the sum total of what I have been engaged in, all these questions, even if the answer was "Yes" to them—and as far as I am concerned they can all be "Yes" if your records show that—wouldn't amount to a hill of beans in proportion.

Mr. MOULDER. But you have given your answers to the best of your recollection?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. The best I can.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Earl Browder?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Not that I recollect. I once heard him on the radio, and I think that is the only time I ever heard his voice.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Roy Hudson?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I might have met him. I don't recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you recall if you ever met him in Philadelphia along with Earl Browder?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No. The times I have been in Philadelphia have been times of national conventions, except some financial business I have been there on when I had some cases.

Mr. WHEELER. But you never met him with Earl Browder or anybody else that you recall?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. No.

Mr. MOULDER. Anything further?

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Helen Hornstein?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Helen Hornstein was a Kansas City girl appointed to be my secretary in Germany, and arrived there after I left.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you request that she be appointed your secretary?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I believe her name was put in with my approval. From all I have ever known of her, she is O. K. I never worked with her on anything in any Government job. I don't know what her past was at this moment. She was to come over as my secretary, but she got there after I left.

Mr. MOULDER. That was an assignment by the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I suppose so. I don't remember the details.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall if you met her through David Wahl?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I might have.

Mr. RUSSELL. She at one time was his secretary?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. That might have been. I don't remember.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will stand in recess.

(Thereupon, at 12:55 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

APPENDIX

For the purposes of reference, we append herewith information from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities regarding the Communist record and activities of some of the persons mentioned herein:

JOHN J. ABT.—Miss Elizabeth Bentley, a self-confessed Communist agent and courier, in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities on July 31, 1948, identified John Abt as a member of the Communist Party, in charge of a secret party group operating in Washington. On August 3, 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a self-confessed Communist espionage agent, in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities, identified John Abt as the leader of an underground group of the Communist Party operating in Washington, D. C. On August 24, 1948, Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the Daily Worker and former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities that he knew John Abt as a member of the Communist Party. On August 28, 1950, in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Lee Pressman, a self-confessed former Communist, identified John Abt as a member, along with himself, of the Communist group in Washington, D. C., which was composed of persons employed by the United States Government.

On August 20, 1948, and again on September 1, 1950, Abt appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities and was given an opportunity to affirm or deny the charges which had been made against him. Upon both occasions, he refused to answer questions on grounds of self-incrimination.

Jessica Ware Abt, the wife of John Abt, is the former wife of Harold Ware (deceased). Ware was head of the Communist group in Washington, of which John Abt was a member. Jessica Abt was at one time an employee of the Soviet Embassy and is at present an editor of the Communist propaganda magazine Soviet Russia Today.

Mr. Abt has frequently contributed to the magazine Soviet Russia Today, and has been associated with the following Communist-front organizations: National Lawyers Guild, Civil Rights Congress, and American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. When he testified before the committee on August 20, 1948, Mr. Abt was a paid employee of the Progressive Party of America.

LOUISE BERMAN (formerly Louise Bransten).—During the hearings regarding Communist infiltration of the motion-picture industry in October 1947 before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Louise Berman was identified as a native of Berkeley, Calif., and an heiress to a considerable fortune. It was also brought out that Mrs. Berman is the former wife of Richard Bransten (also known as Bruce Minton), who was formerly owner of New Masses, a Communist

publication. She is presently married to Lionel Berman of New York City, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Various activities and interests in the Communist Party and its front organizations participated in by Mrs. Berman were described as having included a loan which she made in the amount of \$50,000 to the Daily People's World, west-coast organ of the Communist Party, a contribution of \$6,000 to the American-Russian Institute, and a contribution of \$10,000 to the California Labor School. She was also a contributor to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. All of these organizations have been cited as Communist fronts.

The home of Louise Berman (then Bransten) was described as a meeting place of Communists and Communist sympathizers in the vicinity of San Francisco. Many social affairs were given in her home also for the purpose of entertaining and bringing together Communist Party members, including members of Communist espionage rings. She was in contact with several persons who were employed by the Soviet Government, including Vassili Zublin, of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C.; Stepan Apresian and Peter Ivanov, of the Soviet consulate in San Francisco; Gregory Kheifets and V. V. Pastoev, of the Soviet consulate in Los Angeles, and Dmitri Manuilsky, a Communist leader of the Ukraine who was a member of a three-man board which functioned as the Communist International during World War II.

On two occasions, September 20, 1948, and November 7, 1949, Mrs. Berman, in appearances before the committee, declined to answer questions regarding her activities and associations on the ground of self-incrimination.

JOSEPH R. BRODSKY (deceased).—The Daily Worker, official newspaper of the Communist Party, in reporting the death of Joseph R. Brodsky on July 30, 1947, described him as a charter member of the Communist Party.

Benjamin Gitlow, former member of the political committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and its candidate for Vice President of the United States during the national elections of 1944, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on September 7, 1939, as follows:

Mr. Brodsky was a member of the Communist Party, holding a position of the highest confidence. He was not only the party's main legal adviser but he was a party member who handled confidential matters and money matters for us continuously. * * * We had many meetings of our political committee in his office, and Brodsky was very often present at the most important and confidential meetings of the party.

Mr. Brodsky was associated with the following Communist-front organizations: National Lawyers Guild, International Juridical Association, International Labor Defense, International Workers Order, Workers School, Committee to Free Earl Browder, People's Radio Foundation, and the American Committee for Struggle Against War.

HENRY COLLINS.—According to the testimony of Whittaker Chambers before the committee on August 3, 1948, Henry Collins was a member of the underground Communist "apparatus" which had been organized by Harold Ware. Chambers stated that while acting as a courier for the Communist underground he had met with the members of this "apparatus" at the home of Henry Collins, which

was located at St. Matthews Court in Washington, D. C. Further, Chambers testified that the Communist Party dues of this group were handed over to him by Henry Collins, who was treasurer.

Henry Collins was subpoenaed before the Committee on Un-American Activities on August 11, 1948. At the time of his appearance, he identified himself as executive director of the American Russian Institute, an organization cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities and Attorney General Tom Clark. When interrogated concerning his alleged activities in the underground Communist cell, Collins refused to answer pertinent questions on the ground of self-incrimination.

BARTLEY C. CRUM.—Bartley C. Crum was one of the attorneys for the 10 Hollywood Communists who appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947, all of whom refused to answer questions regarding their Communist affiliations.

The Daily Worker of March 18, 1945, carried a statement signed by Mr. Crum and numerous other individuals which was issued by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and hailed the granting of Army commissions to Communists. The Attorney General has since designated this organization as Communist and subversive. Two years later, on March 15, 1947, the Daily Worker listed Mr. Crum as one of the signers of a protest against outlawing the Communist party.

Mr. Crum appeared as a speaker before the American Russian Institute in early June 1948. This organization has been cited as Communist and subversive by the Attorney General. It features pro-Soviet speakers and literature.

Mr. Crum was a sponsor of the American Youth for Democracy, the successor to the Young Communist League, in 1943 and 1944. These organizations have been repeatedly designated as the official youth organizations of the Communist Party.

In 1947, Bartley Crum was a sponsor of the California Labor School, the official educational institution of the Communist Party in the State of California. In 1948, he was listed as a member of its board of directors, as well as a sponsor.

Communist book shops, organizations, and publications are highly scrupulous concerning the books they endorse, exercising continuous vigilance against approving any work deviating from the official party line. Communist book shops throughout the country have promoted Bartley C. Crum's book *Behind the Silken Curtain*. It was favorably reviewed by Albert Kahn, a leading Communist, in the *Worker* of June 15, 1947. It was also endorsed by *Youth* for July-August 1947, page 24, which is the official organ of the American Youth for Democracy, as well as by the Communist weekly *New Masses*, for June 24, 1947. It was "selected" by the Book Find Club, which promotes pro-Communist literature.

Immediately upon the close of World War II, the Communist propaganda machine launched the National Committee to Win the Peace, of which Bartley C. Crum was vice chairman and sponsor in 1946 and 1947. This organization joined with another front organization, the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, in a conference held in San Francisco on October 18-20, 1946, to influence American policy in behalf of the Chinese Communists. Mr. Crum was

also a sponsor of the latter organization. Both the National Committee to Win the Peace and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy have been cited as communistic.

In 1943, Bartley C. Crum was president of the San Francisco Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, of which he has been a vice president since 1945. In a report issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities on September 17, 1950, this organization was characterized as the "legal bulwark of the Communist Party."¹

Among other Communist-front organizations with which Mr. Crum has been associated are the following: Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, American Slav Congress, American Committee for Spanish Freedom, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists.

THOMAS I. EMERSON.—Mr. Emerson, a law professor at Yale University, was elected president of the National Lawyers Guild at its national convention in New York City in May 1950. Thomas I. Emerson has been associated with the guild since its inception and served on the guild's executive board during its first year, 1937. He was also a member of the national committee of the International Juridical Association, a Communist front, during its existence.

The records of the Committee on Un-American Activities show that Thomas I. Emerson, in addition to the National Lawyers Guild, has associated with such groups as the Civil Rights Congress, Jefferson School of Social Science, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, all of which have been cited as Communist fronts.

SIMON W. GERSON.—According to the records, files, and publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Simon W. Gerson has held the following positions in the Communist Party, U. S. A.: Member, New York State Committee of the Communist Party; member, executive committee, Communist Party of New York; New York State legislative director of the Communist Party; campaign director, Communist Party in New York; resident executive committee member, New York State Communist Party; member, Communist Party election committee; Communist Party candidate for New York City Council; Communist Party candidate for Congressman at Large, New York; Communist Party legislative chairman, New York State.

On May 2, 1950, Simon W. Gerson appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities as a representative of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in opposition to H. R. 3903 and H. R. 7595, bills to outlaw certain un-American and subversive activities, in public hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

ALGER HISS.—On August 3, 1948, Whittaker Chambers testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities that he had been associated with an underground group of the Communist Party operating in Washington, D. C., and that Alger Hiss was a member of that group. Subsequent to this initial disclosure, he identified Alger Hiss as a Soviet espionage agent and a source of classified Government documents which he, Chambers, transmitted to representatives of the Soviet Union. To support his allegations, Chambers produced a voluminous amount of classified Government documents

¹ Report on the National Lawyers' Guild, legal bulwark of the Communist Party, released as a committee publication September 17, 1950, House Report No. 3123, September 21, 1950.

which he had obtained from Hiss. Hiss, throughout his appearances before this committee, denied Communist Party membership. Hiss was later called before a Federal grand jury in New York City and categorically denied the charges made against him by Chambers. On December 15, 1948, Hiss was indicted by a Federal grand jury on two counts of perjury. His first trial, from May 31, 1949, to July 8, 1949, resulted in a hung jury. His second trial began on November 17, 1949, resulting in his conviction and sentencing to 5 years' imprisonment on each count of perjury, the terms to run consecutively. Hiss is presently free on bail, pending the outcome of his appeal.

ROY HUDSON.—According to the records of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Roy Hudson joined the Communist Party, U. S. A., in 1930, and since then has held positions of top-flight importance in that organization. He was a member of its central committee, later known as its national committee, from 1935 until 1946, and for some years was a member of its ruling politbureau, later known as the national board. He was trade-union secretary of the party for a number of years while a member of the national committee, and served as labor editor of the *Daily Worker* in 1944. During 1944 Hudson was vice president of the Communist Political Association and a member of its national election and political-action committee. In 1935 he was a delegate to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. In 1939 he was a fraternal delegate to the convention of the Mexican Communist Party.

PHILIP O. KEENEY and MARY JANE KEENEY.—Committee hearings held on May 24–25 and June 9, 1949, exposed the associations of Mary Jane Keeney and her husband, Philip O. Keeney, former United States Government employees, with persons previously identified with Communist espionage rings in the United States. The evidence revealed also that Mrs. Keeney, on one occasion, actually served as a courier for the Communist Party. The Keeneys have been denied passports to foreign countries by the United States Government. At one time, Philip O. Keeney attempted to leave the United States on the Polish steamer *Batory* without a valid passport, which move had been countenanced by Carol Weiss King, also mentioned herein. The *Batory* was the ship used by Gerhart Eisler, international Communist agent, to effect his escape from the United States.

Mrs. Keeney worked for the Board of Economic Warfare, later known as the Foreign Economic Administration, beginning in 1942. She worked for the Allied Commission on Reparations in 1945 and 1946. After the FEA was blanketed into the State Department, she was employed in the Interim Research and Policy Division of the Office of Internal Security. In 1948, she became employed in the Document Control Section of the United Nations Secretariat. Mrs. Keeney refused to divulge the names of persons through whom she obtained this latter employment, on the ground that she was instructed by the director of the Bureau of Personnel of the United Nations not to answer questions relating to operations within the United Nations.

ROBERT W. KENNY.—Kenny, attorney general of the State of California during the years 1943–47 and president of the National Lawyers Guild during the years 1940–48, has been associated with the defense of a number of Communist cases. He was also one of the

attorneys for the Hollywood 10. He sent greetings to the Biennial National Conference of the International Labor Defense held April 4-6, 1941; this organization was cited by former Attorney General Francis Biddle as the "legal arm of the Communist Party."

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has specialized in the legal defense of foreign-born Communists such as Gerhart Eisler. Kenny was a sponsor of its national conference held in Ohio on October 25-26, 1947, and again in 1950. He spoke in behalf of Communists held for deportation, according to the *Daily People's World*, Communist publication, dated March 8, 1948.

On repeated occasions, Mr. Kenny has attacked the trial of the 11 Communist leaders convicted for teaching and advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, particularly as reported by the *Daily People's World* of July 22, 1948, and the *Worker* of October 30, 1949.

He signed a statement in behalf of arrested leaders of the Communist Party of Los Angeles, according to the *Daily Worker* of October 19, 1949, and the *Daily People's World* of November 7, 1949. Statements opposing the outlawing or restricting of the Communist Party have been signed by Robert W. Kenny and have appeared frequently in the Communist press. Mr. Kenny has opposed Government loyalty procedures on various occasions.

On the eve of the 1947 May Day celebration, *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, hailed Robert W. Kenny as a "friend of the Soviet Union in the United States." Another Communist government, namely that of China, selected Mr. Kenny to defend its legal interests, according to the *Daily People's World* of April 26, 1950, page 4.

Robert W. Kenny has a number of affiliations and associations with Communist-front organizations. These include the American Youth for Democracy (formerly known as the Young Communist League), the National Committee to Win the Peace, of which he was vice chairman, Civil Rights Congress, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Hollywood League for Democratic Action, California Labor School, Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, and the American Slav Congress.

CAROL WEISS KING.—Carol Weiss King was the executive secretary of the International Juridical Association and is a former law partner of the late Joseph R. Brodsky. She has been a leading member of the National Lawyers Guild. She has defended a long list of Communists while acting in behalf of the International Labor Defense, the "legal arm of the Communist Party"; its successor organization, the Civil Rights Congress; and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. She is the Communist Party's leading specialist in immigration cases.

Carol Weiss King has been actively associated with a number of Communist-front organizations, outside of her legal interests, such as the National Negro Congress, United American Spanish Aid Committee, Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy, Congress of American Women, Council on African Affairs, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, May Day Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions,

New York City Conference Against War and Fascism, and the National Committee To Aid Victims of German Fascism. In 1949, she was candidate for municipal court justice on the Communist-supported American Labor Party ticket.

CHARLES KRAMER.—Miss Elizabeth Bentley, a former Soviet espionage agent, in her testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities on July 31, 1948, identified Charles Kramer, also known as Charles Krevitsky, as a member of "long standing" of a Communist underground group operating in Washington, D. C. On August 3, 1948, Mr. Whittaker Chambers, also a former Soviet espionage agent, corroborated Miss Bentley's statement. This was further corroborated by Lee Pressman, a confessed former Communist, who appeared before the committee on August 28, 1950, and identified Mr. Kramer as a member of the Communist cell in Washington, D. C., which included John Abt and himself.

When subpoenaed before the committee on August 12, 1948, and again on September 1, 1950, Kramer refused to affirm or deny his Communist Party membership on the ground of self-incrimination. For the same reason, he refused to answer the following question:

Did you ever, during your service in the Government, furnish classified documents to any unauthorized people?

When testifying before the committee on August 12, 1948, Mr. Kramer was employed by the Progressive Party, which has recently been repudiated by Henry A. Wallace because of its anti-United States of America policy on Korea.

RING LARDNER, Jr.—On October 30, 1947, Ring Lardner, Jr., appeared as a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities. When asked whether he was then or had ever been a member of the Communist Party, he refused to answer the question and was cited for contempt of Congress by the House of Representatives. He was indicted by a Federal grand jury on December 5, 1947. He was convicted by a Federal court and sentenced to serve 1 year in jail and fined \$1,000. He is now serving his sentence.

Mr. Lardner has been associated with numerous Communist and Communist-front organizations, according to the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities, notably: Civil Rights Congress, League of American Writers, Win the Peace Conference, New Masses, Open Letter to American Liberals Regarding the Soviet Union, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, Spanish Refugee Appeal, Artists' Front to Win the War, and the American Youth for Democracy.

VICTOR PERLO.—Perlo, in sworn testimony of Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, was identified as an underground member of the Communist Party in Washington, D. C., during his employment with the Federal Government. On July 31, 1948, Miss Bentley testified that Perlo was the leader of an underground cell of the Communist Party, the members of which supplied information from the files of the Federal Government to her as a courier for the Communist espionage apparatus operating in the United States. She also testified that she first met Mr. Perlo in the apartment of John Abt in New York City in March 1944.

Whittaker Chambers, who operated as a Soviet courier in Washington, D. C., prior to Elizabeth T. Bentley, testified on August 3,

1948, that Victor Perlo was a member of the underground Communist cell with which he had contact during his operations in Washington, D. C.

On August 9, 1948, Victor Perlo was subpoenaed before the Committee on Un-American Activities and questioned with respect to the testimony of both Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth T. Bentley. In response to all questions dealing with espionage activities and his Communist associates, Perlo refused to answer on the grounds that to do so would tend to incriminate him.

J. PETERS (real name, R. GOLDBERGER; aliases: J. V. Peters, Peter, Alexander Goldberger, Goldman, Goldenweiss, Roberts, Steve Lapin, Pete Stevens, Steve Miller, Isador Boorstein, Steven Lapur, Alexander Stevens).—According to the testimony of Whittaker Chambers on August 3, 1948, J. Peters was the head of the underground apparatus of the Communist Party of the United States.

On August 24, 1948, Louis F. Budenz, former editor of the Communist paper, the Daily Worker, testified before the committee that he had known J. Peters as being very active in the Communist underground and in charge of conspiratorial work for the party. Budenz stated that J. Peters had told him that the conspiratorial apparatus of the party was the most important apparatus.

On August 28, 1950, Lee Pressman identified J. Peters as a contact who brought instructions and literature to the Communist cell in Washington, D. C., from Communist Party headquarters in New York.

J. Peters appeared before the committee on August 30, 1948, and refused to testify regarding his underground activities or his Communist affiliations on the ground of self-incrimination. At the convention of the Progressive Party in Philadelphia in July 1948, J. Peters was a member of the platform committee. In April 1949, J. Peters was ordered deported from the United States.

SHAD POLIER.—This individual was a leading official of the International Juridical Association and the National Lawyers Guild, both of which have been cited as Communist fronts. He has supported other Communist-front movements such as the American Friends of Spanish Democracy and the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo.

MARTIN POPPER.—Popper has been one of the leading figures of the National Lawyers Guild, having been executive secretary from 1940 to 1945, vice president in 1947 and 1948, and its delegate to the World Congress of International Democratic Lawyers in Prague in 1948. In 1947, he was selected as Western Hemisphere secretary and, in 1948, as vice president of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, an international Communist front. He has been an attorney for Amtorg, the Soviet trading agency in the United States. He represented the Chinese Communist Government in a legal suit, having previously defended that government in articles appearing in the Daily Worker of August 17, 1945; Far East Spotlight, December 1949-January 1950, page 4; and Daily Compass, January 2, 1950.

Mr. Popper has been associated with a number of other Communist-front organizations, such as the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, the World Peace Congress, American Committee for

Spanish Freedom, Civil Rights Congress, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, National Negro Congress, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Council on African Affairs, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and the Emergency Peace Mobilization.

LEE PRESSMAN.—On August 3, 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a former Communist, testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities that Lee Pressman had been a member of the underground group of the Communist Party operating in Washington, D. C. The latter was subpoenaed before the committee on August 20, 1948, and refused to affirm or deny Communist Party membership, on grounds of self-incrimination. Mr. Pressman testified again before the Committee on Un-American Activities on August 28, 1950, and admitted that he had been a member of the Communist Party, together with John J. Abt, Nathan Witt, and Charles Kramer.

Pressman was a member of the National Lawyers Guild and the International Juridical Association.

ABRAHAM GEORGE SILVERMAN.—In testimony of Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley before the committee on July 31, 1948, she named Abraham George Silverman as having been a member of a Communist underground apparatus which she knew as the Silvermaster group, which was composed of Government employees and officials in Washington, D. C., and which supplied information from the files of the Federal Government to agents of the Soviet Union. Miss Bentley stated that during the period from 1941–44 she had been a courier for the Communist underground, operating as contact between this and other similar groups and Soviet espionage agents, and that in this capacity she had obtained voluminous secret and confidential information.

On both August 12, 1948, and August 31, 1950, in testimony before the committee, Silverman refused to answer questions regarding these activities on the ground of self-incrimination.

NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER.—According to testimony of Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley on July 31, 1948, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster was a member and the leader of a Communist underground apparatus known as the Silvermaster group, which was composed of Government employees and officials in Washington, D. C., and which supplied information from the files of the Federal Government to agents of the Soviet Union. Miss Bentley stated that during the period from 1941–44 she had been a courier for the Communist underground, and that in this capacity she had obtained secret and confidential information, together with the Communist Party dues, from Silvermaster and other members of the Silvermaster group.

Miss Bentley stated that her contact with Silvermaster had been established by Jacob Golos, who before his death was a leader of the Soviet espionage network operating in the United States.

Silvermaster was subpoenaed before the Committee on Un-American Activities on August 4, 1948, and given the opportunity to affirm or deny the testimony of Elizabeth T. Bentley. Instead of doing either, he refused to answer all questions relating to his activities or associations on the ground of self-incrimination.

HAROLD WARE.—In testimony before the committee on August 3, 1948, Whittaker Chambers named Harold Ware, one of the sons of Mother Ella Reeve Bloor,* charter member of the Communist Party, as having been the leader of one of the secret underground Communist cells in Washington, D. C., prior to his death in the early 1930's. According to this testimony of Chambers, some of the persons he knew to be members of this group were: Harold Ware, Nathan Witt, John Abt, Lee Pressman, Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Henry H. Collins, Charles Kramer (Krevitsky), and Victor Perlo. Chambers stated that the original purpose of this group was the Communist infiltration of the United States Government, but that espionage was certainly one of its eventual objectives. Further, Chambers informed the committee that a violin studio of Helen Ware, a sister of Harold Ware, was used as a rendezvous for members of this underground Communist group.

Nathan Witt, John Abt, Henry H. Collins, Charles Kramer, and Victor Perlo refused to confirm or deny membership in the Communist Party on the ground of self-incrimination, and Alger and Donald Hiss denied Communist Party membership. Lee Pressman, after first refusing to testify regarding this activity, later did admit, in testimony printed in this volume, that he had been recruited into a Communist cell while employed by the Department of Agriculture.

GEORGE SHAW WHEELER.—Wheeler had been the subject of loyalty investigations by the Civil Service Commission and security agencies for a number of years during his employment with the Department of Labor, the War Production Board, the Board of Economic Warfare (later known as the Foreign Economic Administration), and finally with the American Military Government in Germany. The Civil Service Commission found him ineligible for employment on January 2, 1945, on the basis of the reports of Government security agencies. Under questioning, he admitted his connection with the Communist-front organizations, American League for Peace and Democracy, and the Washington Committee for Aid to China.

On October 29, 1945, Mr. Wheeler appealed his case to the Civil Service Commission and, as a result of a subsequent hearing on the matter, Mr. Wheeler was cleared. Investigations in 1946 and 1947 again resulted in his clearance. He was separated from the payroll of the American military government in Germany in 1947 because of a "reduction in force." Immediately thereafter, he became an instructor in economics at the Technische Hochschule (Technical High School) in Communist Prague. In April 1950, he appealed for asylum in Communist Czechoslovakia. The Prague News Letter for April 14, 1950, carries an elaborate statement which George Shaw Wheeler issued to the press in protest against the alleged "brutal and unlawful treatment by the American occupation authorities in western Germany of * * * 58 Czechoslovak citizens," from which we quote in part:

My activity in carrying out official American policy (in Germany) encountered constantly greater obstacles which grew out of the initiation of the cold war by Wall Street and the American warmongers. * * * I had a chance to see the disgusting hypocrisy much more clearly than I saw it at that time.

One of the greatest frauds in American policy is the Marshall plan. * * * Or let us take the Atlantic Pact. * * * What is it actually? An aggressive pact against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. * * *

Another fraudulent act of American monopoly capital is the so-called aid to backward countries. This "unselfish" aid is in fact nothing but another means of inhuman exploitation of the peace-loving colonial and semicolonial peoples and a means for the murdering of hundreds and thousands of fighters for freedom against their oppressors. * * *

To the bottom of my soul I feel ashamed of the crude lies and slanders about events and conditions in Czechoslovakia broadcast by the Voice of America, the voice of their America but not my America. * * *

I came to Czechoslovakia in November 1947 to study and get to know the structure of a planned economy. * * * And it was in Czechoslovakia that I also got to know real democracy.

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